



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

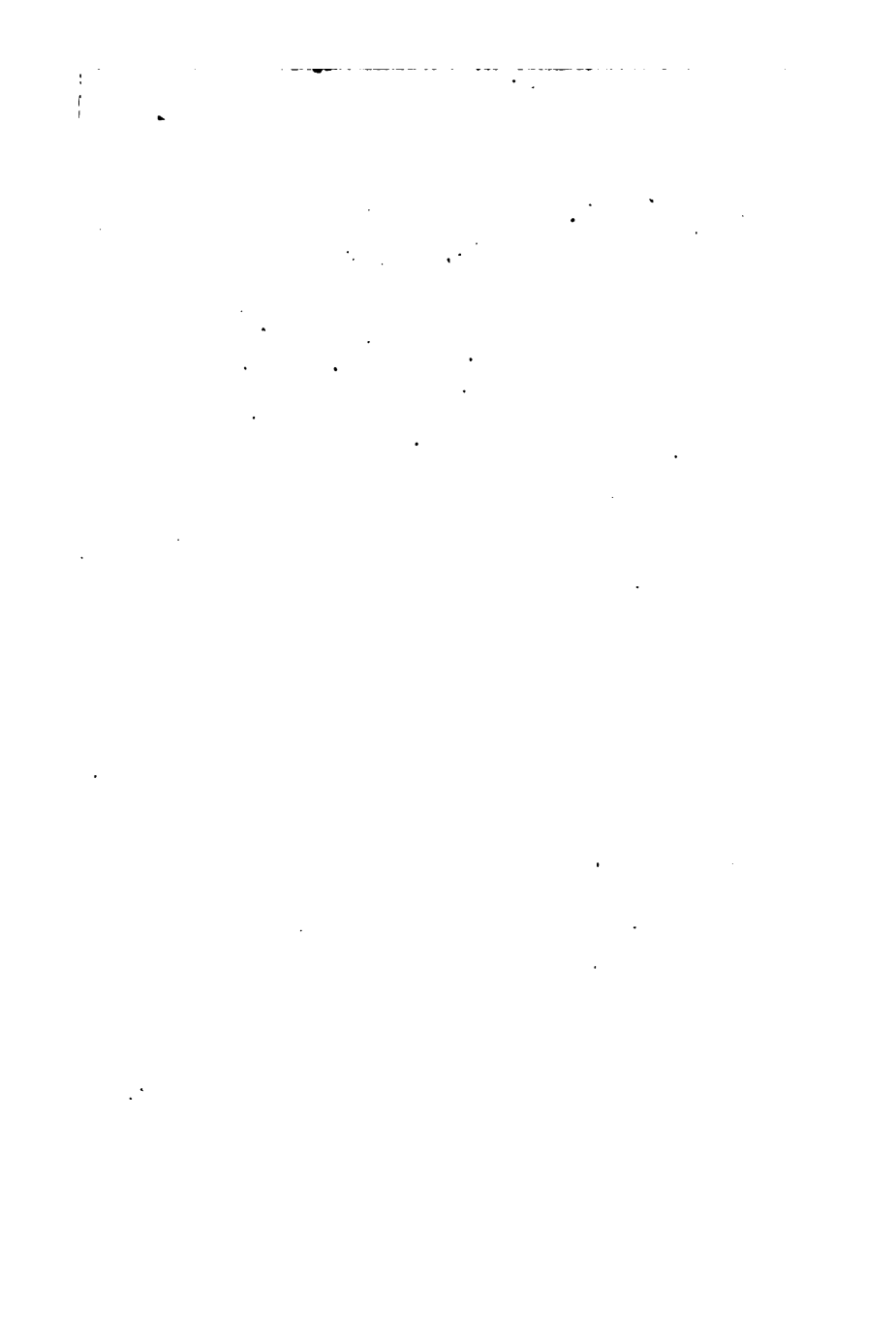
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



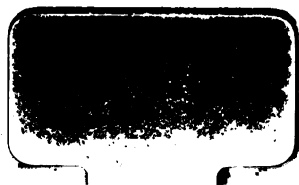
1840.

224.



1840.

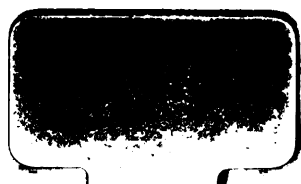
224.



the first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
the third is the fact that the
the fourth is the fact that the
the fifth is the fact that the
the sixth is the fact that the
the seventh is the fact that the
the eighth is the fact that the
the ninth is the fact that the
the tenth is the fact that the

1840.

224.



•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

•

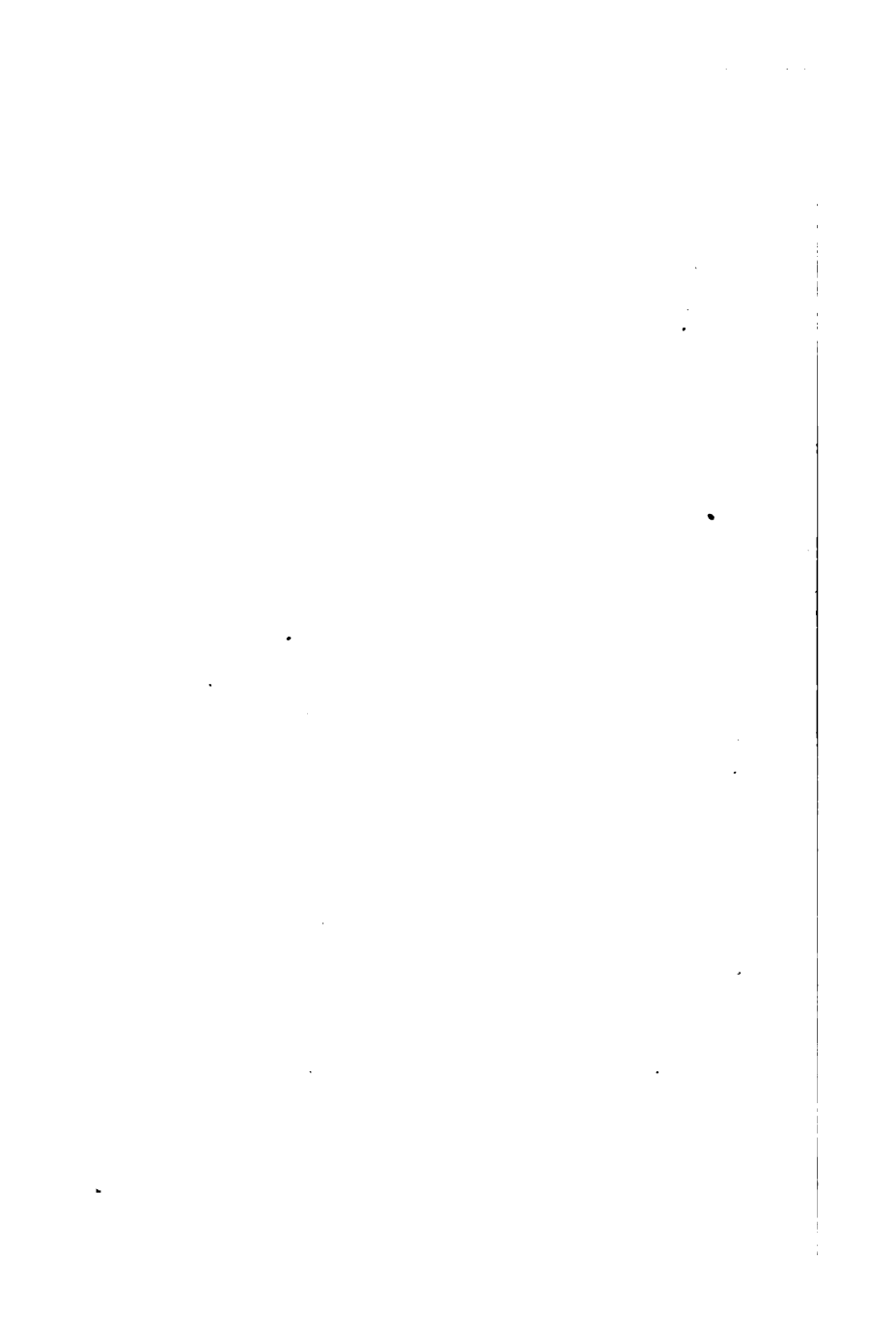
•

•

•

•





THE SPANISH ARMADA,
A.D. 1588;
OR,
THE ATTEMPT
OF
PHILIP II. AND POPE SIXTUS V.
TO
RE-ESTABLISH POPERY
IN ENGLAND.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS LATHBURY, M.A.,
AUTHOR OF "GUY FAWKES," "A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH EPISCOPACY,"
&c.



LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XL.

224.

LONDON
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

P R E F A C E.

A VERY few words will suffice by way of preface to the present volume. The Spanish Invasion, like the Gunpowder Treason, is an event to which the Protestant reverts with feelings of the most unfeigned gratitude. In the present day, when the encroachments of Rome cannot be denied, it is desirable that such events as the Spanish Invasion and the Gunpowder Treason should be recalled to the recollection of the people. I have, in a previous work, submitted an account of the Gunpowder Treason to the public: and as a companion to that work, I now offer a narrative of the proceedings connected with the Armada.

It will be seen that I have made considerable use of the *Letter to Mendoza*. Dr. Lingard asserts that the letter was written by command of the Queen's ministers; but Strype and Turner, as is noticed in the volume, evidently view it as the genuine production of a Roman Catholic, as is stated in the title page. I will not undertake to say, that the letter in question was actually written by a Roman Catholic; but I am

quite certain that there is as much evidence for supposing that such was the case, as there is for Dr. Lingard's assertion.

The references to Strype are to the octavo edition, printed at the Clarendon press: and I have used the quarto editions of Lingard and Turner. With respect to the other works, there can be no mistake as to editions.

I have animadverted, in terms of severity, on some of Dr. Lingard's statements; but I am convinced, that every one who dispassionately considers my arguments, will admit, that I am fully justified in the course which I have adopted.

The authorities for all my statements will be found in the notes. Though the work is especially intended for popular use, yet I have deemed it necessary not to overlook the critical reader who may honour these pages with a perusal.

BATH,

April 28th, 1840.

THE SPANISH ARMADA.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction. Philip's views in his marriage with Mary. His unpopularity. Wishes to marry Elizabeth. This desire overruled for good. Reasons for invading England. Dr. Lingard. The Pope's Bull. King Philip. Drake's Expedition. Discussions in Philip's Councils. Spanish Expectations.

THE year 1588 is a memorable era in the annals of our country. There are some points in history on which the mind dwells with a feeling of more than ordinary satisfaction; and by the members of the Church of England such events as the Gunpowder Treason and the dispersion of the Spanish Armada are contemplated not merely with satisfaction, but with heartfelt gratitude to God, who frustrated the purposes of our enemies, and detected the treacheries of the Church of Rome. If the Israelites were commanded to tell their children the great things which the Lord had done for them, it surely becomes us, as a Protestant nation, to retain in our memories, and to make known to our descendants those eminent

deliverances, which, at various periods, have been accomplished for our Church and nation. To be forgetful of the dangers from which our ancestors were rescued would argue a forgetfulness of that gracious and glorious Being, to whom we are indebted for our present privileges. In order therefore to stir up our countrymen to an expression of gratitude to God for his past mercies, I purpose, in this volume, to give a detail of the circumstances connected with the Spanish Invasion in the year ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY EIGHT. The happy consequences of that glorious deliverance are still experienced by the inhabitants of this country: for had King Philip succeeded in his designs, England might still have been the vassal of the see of Rome, and her people sunk in the same ignorance and superstition which now brood over unhappy Spain. To be forgetful of past deliverances is a sin of the deepest magnitude—a sin for which the Israelites were continually reproached. We are told by a certain class of politicians, that we are to forget such events as the Spanish Invasion and the Gunpowder Plot; and that to allude to such by-gone scenes, either in writing or in speaking, is unwise and ungenerous. Such reasoners argue without any reference to the Bible, or to the superintending providence of God. As Protestants, however, we avow our firm belief in both; and, therefore, we are bound by our principles to call the gracious acts of Jehovah to remembrance, and to show forth our gratitude by

perpetuating them to the latest posterity. I need not add more to justify to my Protestant brethren the course which I have adopted in this work: and to attempt to reason with worldly politicians, on such subjects, would be a needless waste of time and labour. Without any further explanation I shall, therefore, proceed to detail the events connected with the projected Invasion in 1588.

King Philip was on the continent when his wife Queen Mary was summoned to her awful account. He had two objects in view in connecting himself with Mary, namely, his own aggrandisement, and the advancement of the interests of the Romish see, of which Philip was the chief support. For the Queen he cared little; and for the English people still less. We find, therefore, that he slighted the Queen, and treated the people with contempt. The marriage was most unpopular with the public, who saw nothing in the character of the prince to lead them to expect any thing but evil from such an alliance. This feeling of dislike to the king became stronger every year, and was at last evinced towards the whole Spanish nation. Under the year 1557 Strype remarks, "The government by this time became very uneasy, not only in respect of the bloodshed for religion, and the rigorous inquisitions made everywhere, but for the domineering of the Spaniards, which was intolerable. The English were very much disregarded, and the Spaniards ruled all: the Queen, half Spanish by birth,

and still more so by marriage, showing them all favour. That nation also had carried themselves here very disobligingly to the English, and would say, that they would rather dwell among Moors and Turks than with Englishmen*." Philip was very haughty in his manner towards the English people: nor were his courtiers distinguished by greater urbanity. The Spanish alliance, therefore, was unpopular. Besides, there was a dread of the introduction of those practices which had already become common in Spain by means of the inquisition. Whether it was or was not contemplated to establish the inquisition in this country, it is by no means easy to determine: but that the English people had an apprehension that such would be the case, is certain. Sir Thomas Smith, in "*an Oration*," the object of which was to prove that it was more desirable that Queen Elizabeth should marry an English nobleman than a foreign prince, asks, "And do you not think, that if King Philip had been long here, he would not have brought some piece from Spain? If nothing else, at least the inquisition, as they call it, as he did to Naples; whereby, what insurrections and troubles arose there, it is easy to learn by the French histories†." Such incidental notices furnish the strongest evidence of the views of the people at this period, and of their expectations on the subject. Spain was the country in

* STYKE'S *Memorials*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 66.

† STYKE'S *Life of Smith*, p. 141.

which the horrible inquisition most flourished : and as Philip evinced the most ardent desire to promote what he was pleased to consider the cause of religion, there can be little doubt that he would, if circumstances had been favourable, have made the attempt to introduce that odious tribunal into this country. One of the exiles remarks, " Had not our godly, wise, learned, and merciful Queen Elizabeth stood in the gap to restore the everlasting word of God unto us, we had been bondslaves unto the proud, vicious Spaniard*."

Philip was most unwilling to lose his influence in England : and to secure it he contemplated a marriage with Elizabeth. It is indeed said that the preservation of the life of Elizabeth, during the reign of Mary, was owing to Philip, who, perceiving the delicate state of his wife's health, deemed a marriage with her younger sister a possible event at a subsequent period. At all events, it is certain that Philip was anxious to secure his influence in England by a marriage with Elizabeth, who, however, was too wise to be caught in such a trap. It is worthy of observation, that Philip's desire to form a matrimonial alliance with the Queen was graciously overruled for good. As long as he could indulge the hope of prevailing on Elizabeth to become his wife, he abstained from making any attempt to deprive her of her crown : and when his hopes on this subject had expired, he was occupied with other matters, which did not permit him to turn

* STRYKE'S *Memorials*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 164.

his attention towards England. Elizabeth, therefore, had time to consolidate her power: whereas, had Philip declared himself her enemy, at the commencement of her reign, she would have been placed in circumstances of great difficulty.

By the gracious providence of God, King Philip was prevented from undertaking an invasion of England for several years, first by his wish to marry the Queen, and secondly by the war with Portugal. The *Invincible Armada* was not sent forth until thirty years after Elizabeth's accession to the throne. The year 1588 was looked forward to by many as a year of wonders: and so it proved, though in a different sense from what was contemplated by those who were interested in the *Armada*. It was confidently expected by many Romanists that the English Church would not survive this eventful year. Though many unsuccessful attempts had been made on the life of the Queen, yet the Papists, both in Spain and at Rome, looked with confidence to the year 1588. There were on the continent several English fugitives, who constantly endeavoured to excite Philip to invade their native country. The design of the conquest of England was frequently entertained during the ten years previous to 1588. Various reasons were urged with Philip, who, however, needed no spur to promote his own aggrandisement. It was argued, that, as God had blessed his arms with great success in Portugal and the East Indies, he should do some great

work, which would be acceptable to the Most High. England was a land of heresy : her Queen was the patron of heretics all over the continent ; and it was argued that no act would be so meritorious as the extirpation of heresy in England, and the establishment of what was termed the Catholic religion. It was said that the Church could not be more gloriously extended than by the conquest of England, by putting down heresy, and setting up Popery. It was remarked, that as the war was undertaken for the maintenance of Christ's religion, it must be just*. But the advisers of the King pleaded also for the justice of the invasion : they reminded him that the Queen was excommunicated by the Pope, and that it was lawful to seize her kingdom.

It is clear therefore that the projected invasion, like the Gunpowder Treason, had its origin in the principles of the Church of Rome, and that that Church is answerable for the consequences. Dr. Lingard, indeed, attempts a justification of Philip, on the ground of the insults offered to him by some of the English seamen, such as Drake and Hawkins. The doctor enters fully into the feelings of the English fugitives, who constantly plotted treason against Elizabeth. Alluding to the losses which Spain sustained previous to the year 1588, he remarks : "When Philip complained of these depredations, they were feebly vindicated on the ground of his having secretly aided the

* Camden in Kennet, 543.

Queen's enemies, and sought to excite rebellion in her dominions*. Thus Dr. Lingard insinuates that Philip was not concerned in any of those plots which were formed against the Queen's life: and yet no fact in history is better authenticated, than the implication of that sovereign in many of the treasons devised against this country. When he approaches the year 1588, Dr. Lingard observes: "We are now arrived at the most interesting and memorable epoch in the reign of Elizabeth. The reader must have noticed the injuries, which the Queen had almost annually offered to the King of Spain. She had intercepted his treasure, had given aid to his rebels, had hired foreign mercenaries to fight against his armies, and had suffered her mariners to plunder and massacre his defenceless subjects on the high seas, and in his American dominions. Policy taught him to dissemble: he covered his feelings with an affectation of disdain; and the monarch, so haughty to every other power, appeared to bear the provocations given by Elizabeth with the most stoical indifference. But the constant repetition of insult, the sophisms with which his complaints had formerly been answered, and the recollection that the Queen, under the reign of her sister, had owed her liberty, perhaps her life, to his protection, sharpened the edge of his resentment: and if he hesitated to strike, it was only that he might take more sure and ample vengeance†" It would be

* LINGARD, vol. v., p. 479. † Ibid. 487, 488.

difficult to find a more dishonest passage than this within the whole compass of English history. The writer's object is to shift the odium from his Church, and to attempt to prove that Philip was compelled, in self-defence, to undertake the enterprise against England. Every circumstance connected with the Armada, proves, however, that the expedition was undertaken on a religious account: it was so stated in the Pope's bull, and in Allen's *Admonition*, and Dr. Lingard knows that such a course was strictly in accordance with the acknowledged principles of the Church of Rome. But he is anxious to induce the belief that religion had nothing to do with the matter: and that the invasion was contemplated merely for the purpose of avenging the insults offered to Philip by Elizabeth. According to this writer, the Armada was fitted out, not to propagate the faith, but for self-defence. Dr. Lingard is well aware that Philip intended, in the event of conquest, to add this country to his own empire. He knows that the plea set up was that of religion. The Queen was declared to be a heretic, and, therefore, was to be deposed: and the Pope gave her kingdom to Philip. Such was the view taken of the matter at the time: the expedition was also gloried in, as being directed against heretics: and it is only of late years, when much odium has been reflected on Popery by the faithful pages of history, that Popish writers have resorted to sophistry and falsehood, for the purpose of clearing

their own Church and blinding the eyes of Protestants.

But there are statements in the preceding extract which no impartial writer could have put forth. The author has charged Elizabeth with aiding Philip's *rebels*! Who were these rebels? They were the poor oppressed Protestants of the Low Countries, who merely contended for the common rights of conscience, whom Philip cruelly oppressed, and whom Queen Elizabeth generously assisted. For an Englishman to call such persons rebels indicates a spirit so unlike *that* of an Englishman, that it is not possible to account for such conduct in Dr. Lingard, except on the ground that Popery has obliterated from his breast those feelings which are usually found in most men respecting their native country. With respect to the insults he had received, and the assistance given by the Queen to the Low Countries, it may be sufficient to quote an extract from a speech delivered in Parliament, a few months before the sailing of the Armada, by Sir Christopher Hatton: "As to the pretence of injuries before remembered: as to the first going over, Her Majesty disliked it, and punished some of the captains. Concerning Mr. Drake's first voyage, Her Majesty knew it not. Concerning Mr. Drake's last voyage, it was to meet with the restraints and seizures in Spain, and their purpose of war was thereupon discovered: for there was found by the master of Mr. Bond's ship, a commission from the King of *Spain*,

whereby he termed us his rebels, as he termed the *Low Countries**." He proceeds: "The King of Spain's designments are to invade England and Ireland. His preparation 360 sail of Spain. Two manner of forces are to be handled. Assistance to the *Low Countries*, and defence by force otherwise. We are bound to help them in honour. The heads of their miseries are the *Spanish* Inquisition by *Placard*, using strange tortures not to be suffered: great impositions without and against law, sending some of their people into *Spain*, and there tyrannized over: their noblemen done away: taking their towns, and setting tyrants over them to use them like dogs. The Queen's dealing there is warranted by God†." Speaking of the intended invasion, the same great man remarks: "The principal root thereof, the Council of Trent, which agreed to extirpate the Christian religion, (which they term heresy) whereunto divers princes assented and bound themselves in solemn manner. Pope Pius V. sent his excommunication against her Majesty: Dr. Morton, and Mendoza, a Spanish Ambassador, bestirred them: a northern rebellion was bred, the Pope and the rest practised for the Scottish Queen, and she being acquainted proceeds by their means. Pope Paulus XIII. proceeds and sends Jesuits and seminaries to England. Pope Sixtus V. imitateth the other Popes to execute their former devices. Invasion should have been made into England last year,

* Parliamentary History, vol. iv., p. 313. † Ibid. 310.

and not unlike to be attempted this year*." In these extracts the truth is stated both with respect to the Low Countries, and also as it regards the cause of the war. Philip even called the English his rebels: yet Dr. Lingard puts forth the falsehoods, which former Popish writers invented, as the truths of history.

In the extract from Dr. Lingard, the reader will perceive an allusion to Philip's conduct towards Elizabeth during the reign of Mary. The Queen is represented as ungrateful. This matter might be passed by, if the doctor did not quote Osborn as if the charge had been grounded on his authority. It is true that Philip interposed to save Elizabeth: but he had a selfish motive in doing so. This ought to have been stated: and, by not stating it, and referring to Osborn, who does state it, Dr. Lingard has laid himself open to the charge of dishonesty. Osborn's words are as follows: "which attempt of hers might have worse succeeded but for the protection *Philip* the Second afforded during the infancy of her power, flattered to it in the hope of marriage, no less than compelled out of a fear to see England possessed by the Scots, a people ever in conjunction with France, and therefore likely to prove malignant to his affairs. And as these considerations had made him solicitous of her safety during his match with her sister, they continued still so prevalent, as he did not only forbear himself, but restrained others from making use of that

* Parliamentary History, vol. iv., p. 313.

advantage, so fatal a defection could not but afford*." From this passage it is clear that it was Osborn's opinion that Philip had been actuated by selfish motives in favouring Elizabeth during her sister's reign : yet Dr. Lingard's reference would lead the reader to believe, that he was of the same opinion with himself. A man who can quote an author, in such a way as this, is not to be trusted. Such, however, are Popish writers on matters affecting the character of their Church.

The reigning Pontiff was Sixtus V., one of the prime actors in this great movement. Twice had the Queen been excommunicated by the Pontiff's predecessors, namely, by Pius V., and Gregory XIII. The former, in his celebrated bull, absolved the Queen's subjects from their allegiance, and also exhorted all Popish princes to take up arms against her, assuring them that such a course would be highly meritorious. The bull was renewed by Gregory XIII., and by Sixtus V. The Pope takes away the Queen's royal dignity, title, and right to the kingdoms of England and Ireland ; declares her to be illegitimate and a usurper ; absolves her subjects from their oaths, and threatens all persons with eternal ruin, who do not labour to bring her to punishment. And to crown the whole, the Pontiff grants a full pardon to all who should engage in the enterprise.

This celebrated bull was readily renewed by the Pope at the instigation of King Philip, who was con-

* OSBORN'S *Works*, 358, 359.

tent to act as the son and servant of the Church in reducing England to obedience. It had been usual with the court of Rome to grant indulgences to those who entered into the wars which were waged against the infidels; and now the same privileges, the privileges of a *crusade*, were granted to those who joined the expedition against the English heretics. A fuller account of the bull will, however, be given in a subsequent page.

Philip's flatterers, those individuals who quitted England on account of the suppression of Popery, persuaded him that he had an undoubted right to the English crown. Mary, Queen of Scots, had, some time before her death, conveyed to Philip her right to the crown of England. She had not, indeed, the power to make such a disposition of her right: but such was the view of the Church of Rome. Mary saw that no other means could be devised for the restoration of Popery. The doctrine of the Church of Rome is this, that heretics are unworthy to reign: Philip, therefore, put forward another claim in addition to the will or desire of Queen Mary. He was the nearest Popish heir to the throne after the Queen of Scots, being descended from a daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, fourth son of King Edward III*. Thus he was influenced by various motives: he was himself descended from the house of Lancaster: Mary of Scotland had pretended to make over to him her own right or interest in the crown of England: and, above

* RAPIN, ii. 145.

all, the Pope had deprived the Queen of her kingdom, and bestowed it upon King Philip. The last claim was deemed the strongest by the King: at all events he chose to accept the kingdom from the Pope, and to hold it as a *fee* from the holy see. On this point Dr. Lingard, who finds it necessary to speak in a style different from what was adopted formerly, affects to censure King Philip. "Of all men, the Spanish sovereign should have been the last to acknowledge in the pontiff the right of disposing of the crowns of princes. In former times he had not hesitated to declare war against Paul IV., and by his general, the Duke of Alva, had dictated the terms of peace in the Vatican. Revenge and ambition taught him a different lesson. In confidence he communicated his object to Sixtus V., the reigning Pope, and solicited his co-operation in an attempt, which had for one of its objects the restoration of the papal authority in England*." Two things are admitted by Dr. Lingard: the one, that Philip *did* acknowledge the Pontiff's deposing power: the *other*, that one of the objects of the proposed invasion was the restoration of Popery. It is admitted by Papists, therefore, that Sixtus V. claimed the power of deposing Elizabeth: and has the Roman Pontiff ever renounced that claim? As it respects the *second* point, can Dr. Lingard, as an honest man, assert that there were more than two objects contemplated by Philip, namely, the restoration of

* LINGARD, vol. v., p. 489.

Popery, and the desire of adding England to his empire? I cannot see how the passage now quoted, and the extracts previously given, can be reconciled. In the one case, according to Dr. Lingard, Philip was constrained to avenge the insults he had received; in the other, it is admitted that he intended to restore Popery in England.

The papal historian of England, whom I have quoted, and shall have occasion to quote again, adopts the representations of Philip's own historians respecting the Armada as the true ones. The Spanish writers mention the depredations committed by the English as the cause. Dr. Lingard's Popish prejudices have enlisted him on the same side. We have, however, the testimony of a Roman Catholic, who resided in Madrid at the time of the fitting out of the Armada, that it was undertaken on account of religion, and not for the causes assigned by Dr. Lingard: "here, says the writer, in this town (Madrid) and country are great prayers, processions, fastings, and alms, for the happy success of this Armada, in this cause of God now more than ever in hand*." That this individual though employed, as is supposed by Mr. Ellis, as a spy from the English government, was a Papist, is proved from another part of the letter, in which he expresses his desire that the Queen may be reconciled to Rome.

But Elizabeth was not a person to fling away her crown, nor to yield it without a struggle. Notwith-

* *ELLIS's Letters*, 2nd series, vol. iii., 137.

standing the Pope's liberal grant, Philip had to contend for the kingdom, which the pontiff pretended to bestow. To enable him to accomplish his purpose, the Armada was fitted out. During several years the most active preparations were carried on; nothing was left undone that money could accomplish.

Elizabeth was fully aware of Philip's vast preparations, though she was for some time uncertain as to the destination of the armament. Still it was suspected in England, that it was intended to use it against the Queen. Secresy was, however, preserved as far as possible, though the Spanish ministers could not prevent the intelligence of their proceedings from reaching the English court. To afford some check to Philip, Drake, a man of a most enterprising spirit, was sent out in April, 1587, by order of the English government, to watch the progress of Philip's preparations, and to cripple his efforts by destroying his shipping. He proceeded towards the coast of Spain in obedience to his orders; he sunk some vessels in the bay of Cadiz, and destroyed in various ways, no less than a hundred ships of all descriptions. This expedition was of the utmost importance, for it delayed the sailing of the Armada until the ensuing year, and gave the Queen time to complete her own preparations. On his return, Drake assured the Queen, that notwithstanding the damage which had been done to the fleet, it would be ready to sail the next year. Elizabeth could not, however, believe that such would

be the case ; her notion was, that the Spaniards would not so soon be able to repair their losses. Philip, on the contrary, was so exasperated at the loss of so many vessels, and so enraged against Elizabeth on account of the success of her commander, that he redoubled his exertions, burning with rage, and resolving to avenge the wrongs, which he had sustained, on the Queen of England.

After Drake's expedition, therefore, the preparations were carried on with increasing vigour, the desire of vengeance adding fire to Philip's zeal in the expedition. Serious consultations were held between Philip and his counsellors respecting the manner in which the invasion of England should be attempted. One opinion was, that some harbour in Holland should be occupied by the Duke of Parma, in order that the operations against England might be carried on with a certainty of success. The Duke of Parma himself concurred in this view ; but others objected that this course would be attended with an immense expenditure of money—that much time would be consumed without effect—and that the project would be extremely dangerous. Accordingly, this plan was overruled. On the other hand, it was contended that it would be possible to land an army at the mouth of the Thames, and to surprise London by a sudden attack. It was at length determined that this latter course should be adopted.

Philip's councils were also divided on another

point. It was proposed by one party, that war should be proclaimed in the usual way against England, in order that neighbouring sovereigns might not be suspicious respecting the intention of Philip in his vast preparations. It was also alleged by this party, that the Queen would be compelled to call in foreign aid, and that soldiers, who would fight for money as mere mercenaries, might become odious to the English people, and thus, by rendering them less attached to the Queen, prepare the way for Philip's attack. The majority, however, in Philip's councils saw no necessity for such precautionary measures. They were confident in their own strength, and certain of victory. All they desired was the *blessing* of the Pope, and the prayers of the Faithful to God and the Saints. This latter party prevailed; and it was resolved to sail directly towards the Thames.

The decisions of Philip's council, with the arguments on which they were founded, were afterwards made known in England. "But before this enterprise against England was actually undertaken, the fleet now ready, the King of Spain entered into a deep consultation with his counsellors, whether it were more expedient to invade England or Holland; and the resolution was for England first. This notable argument, with the reasons thereof, afterwards came abroad, and was published in a book—*Politicarum Dissertationum*—beginning thus:— 'Anno 1588, quando stupenda illa classis Regis Catholici in pro-

cinctu stabat, in qua disputatur, quonam ejus convertend sit impetus :—*i. e.*, ‘ That in the year 1588, when that amazing fleet of the King of Spain was in readiness, it was concerted whither the force of it should be turned *.’” This book was printed A.D. 1613 ; an account of its contents is given by the accurate and laborious Strype, from whose works I shall present to my readers such particulars as seem to be of general interest.

It appears to me that everything relative to the *Armada* is interesting, as illustrative of the policy of the Roman Church. The greatness of Philip’s power was displayed in the commencement of the work, in terms of great pomposity. Nothing, it was said, was expected from the King, but what was suited to the occasion. Several reasons were assigned for invading England before Holland, some of which I shall specify. It was stated that it was easier to conquer England than Holland ; that England was weak in comparison of Spain ; that the English were desirous of novelty ; that they hated the Queen ; that they were ready to rebel ; that the country was destitute of means. Other reasons are given of a somewhat different nature. The power of Philip ; his naval forces ; the expected assistance of the French and the Scots, are assigned as reasons in favour of the invasion. It was also stated that many Roman Catholics in England were favourable to the King, and that England, as a nation, was

* STRYPE’s *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 6.

inclined to restore the supremacy of the Church of Rome*.

All these reasons were enlarged upon in the work above mentioned. I shall not attempt to enter upon the whole, but some of them will serve to illustrate the principles of Popery, and others are calculated to interest the reader. Under the head, "*The honour and glory of the expedition*," it was stated as follows:—"Since it is the first part of the Catholic King to defend Catholic faith and religion." Then it is added, "That he be certainly persuaded in this confidence, that there will be no impediment that can retard this attempt of his, that is *Divino præsidio subnixo*," i. e., "underpropped with the Divine safeguard;" for it was further observed, that Philip could not undertake anything more worthy; and then comes the following extraordinary passage:—"For this reason he shall not only, on most just causes, obtain the possession of the kingdom due to him, but shall gain to himself the immortal glory of his name, above all other kings that ever were: namely, so ancient and famous a kingdom joined to Spain†."

This is a very curious passage, and may justify a few remarks. That they were confident of success is evident. Defeat, in the estimation of Philip's counsellors, was impossible. But it is remarkable that his claim to the English crown is positively asserted. The

* STYKE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 7.

† Ibid. p. 8.

Spaniards contemplated the complete subjugation of this country to the yoke of Spain. Popery was to be restored, and the state of England was to become a province of Philip's empire. Such was the grasping spirit of Popery; and to cover their real designs, it was pretended that the expedition was undertaken for the honour and glory of God. I have already alluded to Philip's claim to the crown of Elizabeth, who was branded as an usurper by the Pope. At that time the Roman Pontiff pretended to dispose of kingdoms at his pleasure; and if the same pretence is not now put forth, the cause is not to be sought in the changed principles of Popery, but in the altered circumstances of the times. Popery has relinquished no principle since the days of King Philip, nor indeed can it, since in that case infallibility would be virtually given up; but its practices are very materially altered. As, however, its exterminating principles have never been formally abandoned, but are still adhered to with the greatest tenacity, Protestants have no security whatever against a recurrence of the same practices as were common in the palmy days of Rome, if circumstances should ever so far favour the efforts of the Romanists, as to permit them to gain the ascendancy.

With respect to the inclination of the people to return to Popery, it was argued, that England had adopted the Reformation, not from their own desire, but in consequence of the proceedings of Henry VIII. The wound was said to be still fresh and scarcely skinned

over. On such grounds it was presumed that the English people would readily embrace Popery. The Queen, as is well known, was always most popular with her people; yet in this work it was asserted that she was hated by her subjects. To account for the respect so universally paid to her, it was stated that there was bitter poison lurking in the hearts of the people, though outwardly an opposite feeling was evinced. After enlarging upon this point, the work contains the following remarkable words:—"Wherefore there is great hope, if the Catholic King do arm against the Queen, that the subjects will attempt somewhat remarkable for her destruction*." In this opinion the King of Spain was mistaken. He had been encouraged to depend on English support, and to expect insurrections against the Queen, by some of those seminary Priests, who, though Englishmen by birth, were animated by the bitterest hostility against their native country. That their representations had considerable influence with Philip in the determination to invade England, is certain; but it is strange, that the Spanish council should have so readily believed all the statements of the fugitives. Many instances will occur, in this narrative, of infatuation in the councils of Spain; and their dependence on the statements of the disaffected English was one of the most remarkable. These men could not understand the state of feeling in their own country; they represented things, therefore, not as

* STAYPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 10.

they were, but as they wished them to be. It was owing to the treasonable practices of these individuals that the penal statutes were enacted from time to time against recusants.

Mary the Queen of Scotland was put to death by Elizabeth's order the year before the sailing of the *Armada*: and it is pretended by Dr. Lingard, that this event was a sort of justification of the intended invasion. Among the causes of Philip's resentment he again and again enumerates the aid which the Queen imparted to the Low Countries; but being anxious to find excuses for the Spanish monarch he mentions also the execution of Mary: "She had sent to the relief of the Belgian insurgents an English army, and after a trial unprecedented in the annals of Europe she had taken, on a scaffold, the life of the Queen of Scots. The first was equivalent to a declaration of war, which Philip could not refuse to notice without the imputation of cowardice: the second was an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, which, as the most powerful of Christian monarchs, he deemed it his duty to revenge*." The secular priests of the period never lost the feelings of Englishmen: the Jesuits only laboured for the destruction of their country. That Dr. Lingard coincides with the latter rather than the former is evident from the whole tenour of his history. To screen the character of Philip, and Pope Sixtus V., and to endeavour to make

* LINGARD, vol. v., p. 489.

it appear that Popish principles had nothing to do with the expedition, are the objects which Dr. Lingard has proposed to himself, in this portion of his history. I shall have occasion to notice more than one instance of flagrant misrepresentation in the doctor's voluminous work. In all matters connected with the history of the Church of Rome it is most partial and dishonest. With respect to Mary it may be sufficient to observe, that she was privy to and a party consenting to the plots, the object of which was to seat her on the throne of England. Three objects were constantly kept in view by the seminary Priests, namely, the assassination of Elizabeth, the substitution of Mary in her room, and the extirpation of Protestantism. As long as Mary existed the Jesuits entertained the hope of raising her to the English throne: and to their practices, and her own concurrence in their proceedings, must her death be attributed*. After Mary's death, the Pope and the Jesuits contemplated the reduction of England to the see of Rome, by open force.

* TURNER'S *Elizabeth*, 4to., 517, 546. The question is more fully discussed in a previous work of the author's, *The State of Popery and Jesuitism in England*, p. 84, 85.

CHAPTER II.

The Armada. Books on the subject. Litany and Prayers. Monks and Friars on board. English Fugitives. Letter to Mendoza. Cardinal Allen. Translates the Bull. Allen's Admonition. The Pope implicated.

It was rumoured in England in the spring of 1588, that the vast preparations of Philip were destined to act against this country. The number of ships of all classes amounted to about 130. 20,000 soldiers, with 8350 seamen, 2080 galley slaves, and 2360 pieces of ordnance, were on board the fleet. So confident were the Spaniards of success, that no cost was spared in fitting out the armament; for it was believed that the treasures of England would soon become the property of Spain. When it was first determined to invade England, Antonio de Colonna, duke of Paliano, was appointed to the command of the fleet, and the Marquis of Santa Cruz to that of the army; but, during the preparations, both these noblemen died. Another admiral was therefore appointed, and the Duke of Medina Sidonia was entrusted with the command of the army*. The Duke of Parma also was occupied in preparing transports to be in readiness to sail as soon as the Armada should be off the coast of Flanders.

* CARTE, vol. iii., p. 626.

Many particulars, respecting the Armada, were specified in a work published in Spain during the progress of the preparations. Philip also caused it to be printed in the Spanish, Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch languages; but not in English. It would seem, that the accounts in these different languages varied in some minor matters; at least such is my impression from the words of Strype in his allusion to the subject*. The Spanish book, however, was soon known in England. The Armada was styled, "*La Felicissima Armada*." It is remarkable that Cecil always obtained the earliest intelligence of the movements and intentions of the enemy. This book soon fell into his hands: "In which book," says Strype, "in divers places, I have seen notes added by the pen of that nobleman, soon after the defeat: as what captains were taken or slain, or what ships were sunk or taken†." Another copy of the same book was seen, during the same year, by John Stow, the annalist. It is probable, too, that other copies found their way to England. One, however, was sufficient to make known the intentions of Spain, and to put Elizabeth on her guard. During the same year, a translation from the French edition was printed by Wolf, who, at that time, was celebrated as a printer in London‡.

* STRYPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 17.

† Ibid, p. 18.

‡ The title of the work was as follows: "A Discourse of that Armada, which the King of Spain caused to be assembled in the haven of Lisbon, in the kingdom of Portugal, in the year 88,

The number of the vessels, with the soldiers, and seamen, was specified in this work : so that the people generally were made acquainted with the intentions of King Philip. By these and similar means, the feelings of the Queen's subjects were stirred up to meet the coming danger.

Other documents were afterwards found on board the ships which were taken. A *Litany* had been prepared for daily use previous to the sailing of the Armada; and some copies were preserved after the dispersion of the fleet. Its title is sufficient to indicate its nature, and also the views of the Spaniards; it was this: "*Litanie et preces pro felici successu classis Catholici Regis nostri Philippi adversus Anglice hereticos, veræ fidei impugnatores. De mandato serenissimi principis Cardinalis: excudebat Antonius Ribarius, 1588.*" The very title shows that *heresy* was the cause of the projected invasion. The English are called *opposers of the true faith*; and on this account, they were to be subdued to the yoke of the King of Spain. Certain clauses from the Litany itself establish the same fact. It may be seen in the valuable collection of papers inserted by Strype in his *Annals**.

Besides those who were actually employed by the Spanish Government, there were many men of family against England. The which began to go out of the haven the 29th and the 30th of May." Besides the books, the ministers of Elizabeth were made acquainted with the designs of the Spaniards by intercepted letters.

* STRYPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 539-40.

and influence, who sailed as volunteers, ready of course to seize any opportunity of advancing their own interests, if the effort should be crowned with success. Some indeed, as the Duke of Savoy with others, considered the act as meritorious, on the ground of the Pope's indulgence, and because the Queen was excommunicated; but the greater part of those who accompanied the fleet in that character were evidently in expectation of acquiring estates and possessions in England as a conquered country. When the whole of their proceedings was made public, and it became known that such numbers accompanied the fleet as volunteers, the people could not come to any other conclusion, than that these individuals expected to acquire wealth in this country: nor is there any reason to doubt the soundness of that conclusion*.

Not only was the armament blessed by the Pope, but no less than 180 Monks and Friars were dispersed over the various vessels to take care of the spiritual interests of the soldiers and seamen. The number has indeed been estimated much higher; but I choose to follow that calculation, which is evidently under rather than over-stated†. Superstition had its influence, as

* STREYFE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 20. ECHARD, vol. i., p. 868.

† Ibid., p. 21. I have had occasion, in a previous work, to notice the inaccuracies of the continuation of the History of England commenced by Sir James Mackintosh. As far as the work was conducted by Sir James, it was honest and impartial; but a different tone and spirit are adopted by the conti-

well on those who devised the invasion, as on those who sailed with the Armada. All parties were confident of success. Many thought that they were about to fight the Lord's battles by going against the English heretics. The ecclesiastical persons in the fleet were not only to attend to their own people, but to propagate the *faith* among the English, and to superintend those plans which were to be devised, if the expedition was successful, to reduce the country to obedience to the See of Rome.

Already has mention been made of the English fugitives—men who quitted England for the sake of Popery, and who laboured incessantly to excite the Popish sovereigns on the continent against their own country. These men, educated in the seminaries founded for the express purpose of affording an asylum for the discontented English, were the causes of the repeated attempts on the life of the Queen. Uniting themselves with the Society of the Jesuits, they became the most active members of that order. They maintained a correspondence and communication with the disaffected at home; but many of their representa-

nuator. His leaning is certainly towards Popery. He generally labours to relieve the Church of Rome of the odium of those crimes, which have frequently been committed by her leading members. In reference to the number of priests, however, who sailed with the Armada, he asserts that they amounted to 600. On what grounds such an assertion, so obviously at variance with the fact, is put forth, I am not able to discover. See *History of England*, vol. iv., p. 3.

tions to the court of Spain were erroneous. They were led away by their feelings, in many instances, and were induced to entertain hopes, which were not likely to be realized. In the *Letter to Mendoza* it is stated, that the fugitives were greatly mistaken as to the number of Papists in England. The writer affirms that these men had no means of ascertaining the number. Undoubtedly the disaffected English on the continent, who were ready to sacrifice their country, made such representations to the Spanish council as were calculated to excite and strengthen their hopes of ultimate success. They informed Philip, that on the landing of the troops the great majority of the nation would declare themselves in his favour. The writer of the *Letter* just alluded to, asserts, that there were "*not so many tens as we accounted hundreds*, whom we thought would have shown themselves men of courage for our common cause, and would have suddenly surprised the houses, families, and strength of the heretics and adversaries*."

The authorship of this letter is doubtful, but whether written at the command of Cecil, or, as it pretends, by a Spaniard in England, it may be regarded as giving correct statements of facts, especially as they are corroborated by other evidence†. On the conduct

* *Letter to Mendoza*, p. 8.

† Mr. Sharon Turner appears to believe, that the *Letter* was really what it purported to be, namely, an account written in England by a Roman Catholic to Mendoza. At all events, Mr.

of those seminary priests who, from time to time, visited their native land, the author of the *Letter* has the following remarkable passage; and as it contains one of the best accounts of the proceedings of these men in their peregrinations about the country, and moreover was never disproved, I shall give it entire. The writer alludes to the execution of certain Popish traitors, and adds:—"To which, these our adversaries pretending some small degree of charity, do answer us; that no execution hath been of any, to their knowledge, for their religion or profession thereof; but for that they which have been executed, have been found to have wandered in the realm secretly,

Turner does not express any doubt on the subject. He mentions, that it is printed in the Harleian Miscellany. It was printed also in a separate form in 1746. I have a copy of this edition. See TURNER'S *Elizabeth*, p. 671. Strype appears to view the *Letter* as a genuine document, actually sent by a Roman Catholic from England, and not as a letter written by command of Cecil. His words are: "This letter, although it was sent to Don Bernardine, yet, by good hap, the copies thereof as well in English as in French, were found in the chamber of one Richard Leigh, a seminary priest: who was lately executed for high treason, committed in the time that the Spanish Armada was in the Seas." *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 140. In the account of the Spanish invasion given at the end of the later editions of FOXE'S *Martyrs*, it is positively stated that this Richard Leigh was the author of the *Letter*. I should not have noticed the subject, had not Dr. Lingard asserted that this *Letter* was published and circulated by Elizabeth's ministers. He gives no authority; and I leave it for the reader to decide, whether the opinion of Strype and Turner is not of more value than the unsupported assertion of Dr. Lingard. See LINGARD, vol. v., p. 495.

and in a disguised manner, which the adversaries scornfully term as *Ruffians* with feathers, and all ornaments of light-coloured apparel, like to the fashion of courtiers, and do use many means to entice all people with whom they dare adventure to speak, not only to be reconciled to the *Pope* and Church of *Rome*, but to induce them by vows and oaths to renounce their obedience to the Queen; to deny her to be their sovereign, and themselves to be discharged of their allegiance; and to repute all magistrates under her to be unlawful, and in conscience not to be obeyed; with many more such matters, (which I, nevertheless, count to be very vain calumniations,) tending to make the facts of all such holy priests as are sent with commission to win men's souls, to be direct treason against the Queen and the state of the realm*." Of the accuracy of this statement, whether the letter was written by a real Spaniard or by an Englishman, who assumed the character, there can be no doubt. It exactly agrees with all the accounts of the period.

At the head of the English fugitives was Allen, who had been raised to the dignity of a cardinal by the Pope. This man occupied so important a position at the time, that it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the proceedings in which he acted so conspicuous a part. He was a native of Lancashire, and received his education in Oriel College, Oxford. In the year 1556 he was appointed Principal of St. Mary

* *Letter to Mendoza*, p. 10, 11.

Hall, which post he vacated on Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne. So devoted was he to the Church of Rome, that he would not remain in his own country, after the establishment of the Reformation. Repairing to the Continent, he became the leader of the English fugitives. In the year 1587 he was made a cardinal by Sixtus V. The English exiles were collected into a body, residing first at Doway, then at Rhemes; and Allen was their head. It is, indeed, questionable, whether the college would have been founded, had it not been for the persevering exertions of Allen*. "He troubled the Church of England," says one, "lining his *red hat* with the black offices he did against his native country†." It seems that Allen was created a cardinal for the special purpose of superintending the spiritual affairs of England after its conquest by Spain. The canons, usually followed in such cases, were violated on this occasion. This is admitted by Thuanus‡.

At the time appointed for the sailing of the armada, Allen was sent into Flanders, in order that he might be ready to accompany the expedition. He was authorized by the Pope to act as his Legate in England, an office which he never filled, since the forces of Spain were not permitted to reach our shores. Allen was actively employed in Flanders during this year. His proceedings are now to be related.

* FULLER'S *Worthies*, under *Lancashire*.

† *England's Worthies*, 8vo., p. 426.

‡ See *Popish Policies*, p. 43.

The first act of the cardinal's, in the Low Countries, was to translate the Pope's Bull into English. It was entitled, *A Declaration of the sentence of Sixtus V., grounded on the said Pope's crusado, whereby he gave plenary indulgence and pardon of all sins to all that gave their helping hand to deprive Queen Elizabeth of her kingdom**. It was published as the first part of a pamphlet. The second part was, *An Admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland, concerninge the present warres, by the highe and mightie King Catholicke of Spain, by the Cardinal of England. Anno MDLXXXVIII.* The Admonition was a most violent production. It was published in Allen's name, as is specified on the title page, and consequently he was responsible for its contents; but its actual author was the Jesuit Parsons. This tract is exceedingly scarce; so scarce, indeed, that very few copies are now in existence. The cause was this. It was printed when the English fugitives were confident of success; but after the defeat of the armada, the Romanists procured the whole impression to be burnt, except a few copies, which had been sent out before the dispersion of the fleet, and some which were preserved by the printer†. No one ever put in his claim to the authorship; but the general opinion has ever been in favour of Parsons. Fuller, however, imagines that it was the *extract of several brains*. Whether

* WOOD, *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, vol. i., p. 621. Bliss's edition.

† Ibid. FOULIS's *Romish Treasons*, p. 350.

such were the case or not, will probably never be decided; but every one will concur in the following remark of Fuller: "No doubt had the Spanish invasion succeeded, happy he who could have laid claim to so prophetic a piece: and they would have fallen out as the two harlots about the living child, who should have been the parent thereof. Whereas now on the miscarriage of their great navie, all disclaimed the book, and Parsons procured the whole impression to be burnt (save some few sent abroad beforehand to his friends) that it might not remain a monument of their falsehood*." Fuller ascribes the suppression of the tract to Parsons individually, while Wood states that others were also concerned in the business. Parsons doubtless was exceedingly active in the matter; but it is evident, that Allen and the rest of the English exiles were quite as anxious to get it suppressed.

I have never seen a copy of this memorable tract. Dr. Lingard gives an account of it; and in Fuller, an abridgment of its contents is given. There is also an abstract of it in a scarce tract entitled *Important Considerations by the Secular Priests*, A.D. 1601†.

* FULLER'S *Church History*, book ix., p. 197. Dr. Lingard seems to admit that Parsons was the author, though he intimates that the matter is not quite certain. LINGARD, vol. v., p. 662, 4to. edition.

† FULLER, book ix., p. 197. FOULIS, p. 350, 351. *Important Considerations*, p. 75. This Tract was reprinted in 1678. It is to this edition that I refer. Dr. Lingard does not say whe-

These works will enable the reader to form a correct estimate of the character of this very obnoxious production.

I shall here insert a brief abstract, gathered from the above sources, of this scandalous production, simply for the purpose of exposing the working of Popish principles, when the Church of Rome is in the ascendant, and can venture to give utterance to her views.

Elizabeth is first styled a bastard ; then a heretic. Her mother, Anne Boleyn, is branded as an *infamous courtesan*. Perjury, and almost all other crimes are alleged against the Queen. She is charged with abolishing the *Catholic religion*, spoiling the churches, imprisoning the bishops, destroying the ancient nobility, raising the worst of men to the clerical office, encouraging atheists, heretics and rebels, and with other crimes of a kindred nature. Nor are her morals left untouched. The *Admonition* actually charges her with criminal intercourse with Leicester,

ther he had actually seen a copy of the *Admonition*, though it is perhaps to be inferred that he had. He observes, "In the present note I purpose to give some account of this Tract, which every writer on the armada is careful to mention, though few of them ever had it in their hands. A numerous edition was printed at Antwerp, to be distributed in England at the moment of the invasion; but the invasion did not take place, and care was taken to burn almost all the copies. Hence the book is become extremely scarce." LINGARD, vol. v., p. 662. Appendix. 4to. edition. There is a copy in the library of the Jesuit College, at Stonyhurst; a very proper receptacle for such a production. See TURNER's *Elizabeth*, p. 579.

and with many others. She is, in short, calumniated as guilty of the greatest licentiousness. Many such charges are repeated, which were so unfounded, that any man may well feel surprised that Allen or Parsons should have given such a publication to the world. It shows that Popery does not scruple to resort to any means to extend its influence. The *Admonition* proceeds to state that the sentence of Pius V. had not been executed, partly on account of his death, and partly on account of Elizabeth's power: then it is added that her evil conduct has induced Sixtus V. to entreat Philip of Spain to take upon him this sacred and glorious enterprise, to which he has consented, moved by his own zeal, by the authority of the Pope, and the cardinal's pleadings for the deliverance of his countrymen. His Holiness, by the power of God and the Apostles, renews the censures of Pius V., and Gregory XIII.; he also commands all to yield her no obedience, aid, or favour, whatsoever; but to employ all their power against her, and to join themselves with the Spaniards on their landing in the country. The Pope declared that it would not merely be lawful, but commendable to lay hands on the English Queen. The people are also addressed, especially the nobility, who are menaced with the loss of property, and even eternal damnation, unless they join the Spaniards on their landing. By aiding the Queen, it was alleged, they would fight against God; would incur the curse of the angels; and be excommunicated.

Philip is termed their lawful king. Victory appeared certain; every pretence, therefore, which could be alleged on this point was used. It was said that the Protestants would either join the invaders, or fly through fear; and that, if none of the English people should join the Spaniards, the latter would be able to complete the conquest. Another argument was, that the blood of those Romanists who had been put to death, and all the saints in glory, pleaded for victory to the Spaniards; that all the priests, both at home and abroad, had stretched forth their sacred hands to the same purpose; that many priests were with the army, to attend upon every one; that their forces were guarded by all God's angels, by Christ himself in the sacrament, and by the daily oblation of Christ's own body and blood; that the Spaniards, thus assisted, must be victorious; and that Elizabeth must be overcome. Such is an outline of the contents of the *Admonition**.

Only two years before, the fugitive priests, in order to lull the English people into a false security, published a book, in which the Papists are exhorted to be quiet, and not to use any weapons except prayers and tears†. At this very time, the preparations were going forward with the greatest activity; yet the Papists pretended that no invasion was contem-

* Dr. Lingard is constrained to call it a *libellous tract*. Vol. v., p. 497.

† *Papish Policies*, p. 40. *CAMDEN'S Annals*.

plated. Duplicity of the worst kind was exhibited in the whole business.

The Pope, as is evident from the *Admonition*, was one of the prime movers in the armada. Philip needed no stimulus to the invasion of England; the desire of revenge and his own ambition were quite sufficient to stir him up to make the attempt. Still it was necessary to obtain the Pope's support; and for that support Philip consented to hold the kingdom, after he had conquered it, as a *fee* from the Pope*. His Holiness also agreed to contribute a *million* of crowns towards the expenses of the expedition, one half to be paid soon, the other when any part of the country had been gained. The money, however, was not to be given, except on the condition just mentioned, that Philip should receive the kingdom from the Pope†.

Who does not perceive that the whole affair had its origin in the principles of Popery? Had Elizabeth consented to retain Popery, her title would have been admitted by the Pope, and King Philip would never have dreamed of the conquest of England. The Pope claimed the power of disposing of the kingdom: Philip admitted that claim, and consented to hold the crown of England from the Roman Pontiff. Nor was there any inconsistency in this admission; for it was a doc-

* THUANUS, as quoted in *Popish Policies*, p. 44.

† *England's Remembrancer*, by SAMUEL CLARK, 12mo. p. 13. 1677. LINGARD, v., 490.

trine of the Church of Rome, that earthly sovereigns ought to be dependent on the successor of St. Peter. It was a doctrine which had frequently been acted on; and it is still the recognised doctrine of the Romish church.

All this is admitted, without hesitation, by the Papal writers of the day; it is only recently that Romanists have endeavoured to deny the charge. Some remarkable passages occur in the *Life of Pius V.*, by Catena, a work published by authority. A few extracts will convince the reader of the truth of the preceding statement. "Pius, thinking on the one hand to succour the Scottish Queen and liberate her, and on the other, to restore the religion in England, and to take off at some moment Elizabeth, the sink of so many evils, deputed some persons in that kingdom to give him an account of the heretics and the Catholics; and to animate the Catholics to replace their ancient ritual in the kingdom*." Gabutius, another biographer of Pius, speaks to the same effect: "He deliberated on restoring the fallen religion in England, and, at the same time, to take away from the world that sink of all evils, or, as he himself called her, the servant of wickedness, if it was not possible to recall her to reason†." Catena further adds: "While these

* CATENA, as quoted by TURNER, p. 484. His words are very remarkable: *E di levare a un tempo la sentina di tanti mali Elisabetta.*

† The original runs thus: *Lapsam in Anglia religionem reno-*

things were being secretly practised, some disputes arose between Elizabeth and the King of Spain; on which Pius took occasion to urge this monarch to favour the enterprise of the conspirators in England, as he could not secure his states in Flanders by any better way than by overthrowing this Queen. He reminded Philip of the obligations of religion, which ought to be the first thing to excite him to it. The King willingly consenting to it, it remained for Pius to incline, by his dexterity, the French to favour likewise the scheme." In allusion to the state of things in England, the biographer adds: "And in order that this insurrection might have a more favourable operation, Pius published a Bull against Elizabeth, declaring her a heretic, depriving her of her kingdom, releasing her subjects from the oath of allegiance and duties, and excommunicating every one who should afterwards obey her. The contents so excited the public mind to obey Elizabeth no longer, that if they had found out at the moment a leader, they would have rushed to a sudden revolt." The Pope also wrote to the Duke of Alva, urging him to support the English insurgents. He tells him that he is "receiving every day the most detailed and certain news of the movement excited in England by the Catholics of that kingdom against the heretics, and *contra illam*

vare cogitabat, simul et illam malorum omnium sentinam; seu ut appellabat IPSE, flagitiorum servam, de medio tollere, si minus possēt ad sanitatem revocare.

quæ se pro Angliæ regina gerit." He adds that they will fail if not assisted; "but if they be supported we may hope that they will succeed in re-establishing the Catholic religion in England*."

That the principles of the Church of Rome are destructive to freedom, and to the rights of kings as well as of the people, is proved by the unrepealed decrees of councils and the acknowledged Bulls of Popes; and the preceding extracts fully show that the Romanists of former times, whatever may be the case in the present day, were not ashamed of their doctrines. They even gloried in them, and confessed them openly to the world. Dr. Lingard pursues a different course. Without any reference to the unrepealed decrees of his church, he pretends to be horror-struck at the imputation of such principles as those which are expressed in the preceding extracts. The reader must decide whether Dr. Lingard or the Papists of Queen Elizabeth's days, pursues the more honest course.

The truth of the statement, respecting the Pope's concurrence in the invasion, might be proved by a reference to various writings and proceedings of the seminary priests throughout the whole of this reign. These men acted under the express sanction of the Pope. A passage occurs in one of the letters of Sanders, which may be quoted as an illustration or sample of the whole of the writers of that class. Writing to certain Popish lords in Ireland, he says:

* See TURNER's *Elizabeth*, 484, 485, 487.

“What mean you, I say, to be at so great charges, to take so great pains, and to put yourselves in so horrible danger of body and soul, for a wicked woman, neither begotten in true wedlock, nor esteeming her Christendom, and therefore deprived by the vicar of Christ, her and your lawful judge: forsaken of God, who justifieth the sentence of his vicar; forsaken of all Catholic princes, whom she hath injured intolerably. See you not that she is such a shameful reproach to the royal crown, that whoso is indeed a friend to the crown, should so much the more hasten to dispossess her of the same? See you not that the next Catholic heir to the crown (for the Pope will take order by God’s grace, that it shall rest in none other but Catholics) must account all them for traitors that spend their goods in maintaining a heretic against his true title and right? What will you answer to the Pope’s lieutenant, when he, bringing us the Pope’s and other Catholic princes’ aid, (as shortly he will) shall charge you with the crime and pain of heretics, for maintaining a heretical pretended Queen against the public sentence of Christ’s vicar*?”

* ELLIS’s *Letters*, Second Series, iii., 95, 96.

CHAPTER III.

**Affairs in England—Treaty of Peace—Parma—Spanish Treachery
—The Queen's Preparations—English Romanists—Their Con-
duct—Two Parties—Days of Fasting and Prayer.**

LEAVING Philip and his armada for a time, we must now return into England, to notice the Queen's preparations in this emergency. Elizabeth was exactly fitted for such circumstances as those in which the country was then placed. She was also surrounded by counsellors, such as England has rarely seen. It must be regarded as a mark of God's good providence over our land, that such a sovereign should at that time have occupied the throne, and that she should have been aided by such able ministers. The selection of such men for her councils was a proof of the Queen's sagacity. How unlike were the statesmen of that day to the men by whom the throne of this country is at present surrounded !

It has been remarked, that Philip's vast preparations were known to Elizabeth's ministers some time before the sailing of the armada : but it was not at first known what was the destination of the armament*. To blind the English ministers, the Duke

* The letter in Ellis's Collection from a person who uses the initials B. C., and whom Mr. Ellis calls an English spy, has already been mentioned. It relates to the armada, and is dated from

of Parma was permitted by Philip to enter into a negotiation for peace. The intention was to amuse the Queen, in order that the armada might sail and find the country unprepared. The Spanish council hoped, by such means, to take the Queen's ministers by surprise. Elizabeth evinced the utmost readiness to enter upon a treaty. She knew what was intended by Spain, and that no result would come of negotiation: but she was anxious to gain time. Still she treated of peace with the sword in her hand; she knew the men with whom she had to deal, she was acquainted with the principles of the Church of Rome, and she understood the character of King Philip.

Though the Duke of Parma intended to lull the English people into a state of security, so that no preparations might be made, yet the Queen and her ministers were as active at home as they could have been if no treaty had been set on foot. Philip,

Madrid, May 28, 1588. The writer says, "And although I judge this navy (now in readiness under the Castle of Belem, expecting wind to set sail) may be in your quarters before these come to your hands, yet would I omit no occasion to write, seeing that when heretofore I was in the number of the incredulous, yet now being in place where I may hear and see, I confess to be in the wrong: for now I am out of doubt they will in very deed that way." Mr. Sharon Turner, alluding to this letter, says that the writer "was no spy writing to his government. Its contents obviously show that it was addressed to some one who like himself hoped the armada would succeed."—ELLIS's *Letters*, Second Series, iii. 134; TURNER's *Elizabeth*, 664.

therefore, was disappointed in his expectations: 'No unsuspecting person would have imagined that Philip was contemplating the invasion of England; while he was negotiating for peace; such, however, was the case. Various matters were discussed by the parties who met each other in Flanders. The treaty was actually continued until the armada was in the British Channel; it is indeed stated, that the sound of the guns from the sea was the signal for the dismissal of the assembly. It is certain that the English plenipotentiaries did not quit Flanders until the Spanish fleet was in the Channel*: "so that in August, when both fleets were upon the seas, the Queen's commissioners came home†."

It has been said, that the armada appeared suddenly on our shores, in consequence of Parma's treachery, in pretending a treaty when war was determined upon. That the Duke of Parma was acting a treacherous part must be admitted by all: but it is not true that Elizabeth did not expect that the invasion would be attempted. At the same time the armada, as will appear in the narrative, was in the Channel sooner than was expected; even Parma himself was taken by surprise.

Strype commences his account of the year 1588 in the following words. "We now proceed to the next year, viz., 1588, the wonderful year, as it was

* CARTE, iii., 625-6; ECHARD, i., 868; RAPIN, ii., 135.

† STRYPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 6.

commonly and deservedly called, with respect to this nation especially.

“Two weighty matters now lay upon the Queen to be managed: the one was a treaty propounded to the Queen by the Duke of Parma, Governor of the Netherlands, for a truce in order to a peace between her and the King of Spain: and the other, the preserving herself and kingdoms from the intended invasion of the Spaniards*.” The same writer, after mentioning that commissioners on both sides met near Ostend, remarks, “They began their treaty in April, and continued arguing all the summer: in show rather than in reality on Parma’s side†.” Into this treaty then Parma entered, though there was no intention whatever of making a peace with Elizabeth. It was a piece of papal duplicity from beginning to end. Some persons might allege that the Queen also entered upon the treaty with the same object in view, namely, to deceive. But how different were the circumstances of the two parties. The Queen was

* STAYFE’S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 2. “This year,” says the same writer in another place, “was the most dangerous year of the Queen’s whole reign, both for her own and the kingdom’s safety, and of the present Church of England. For a dreadful invasion of this land was now resolved upon, and vast preparations making for that purpose by the Pope, and the enraged proud King of Spain, and other Popish princes in league. A vast fleet was got ready to come into our seas, breathing nothing but destruction and slaughter.”—*Life of Grindal*, i., 524.

† STAYFE’S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 5.

anxious to adopt any plan to delay the intended invasion; and besides, she was ready to conclude a peace with Philip on reasonable terms. Though, therefore, she had but little hope of any good result from the negotiation, yet she would have acted the part of an insane person had she refused: but Philip did not intend to conclude a peace; nor did he desire it, for he was resolved on the invasion and subjugation of England. It was not Elizabeth's interest to enter into a war with Spain; peace was her object: and she would have readily concluded a treaty with the Duke of Parma, if it could have been granted on fair and reasonable terms. In her desire for peace she was most sincere. This is admitted even by Dr. Lingard*.

But the treacherous conduct of King Philip, and of his agent the Duke of Parma, is evident from certain circumstances which occurred during the treaty. These circumstances, as furnishing an illustration of the character of popery, I shall relate.

Sir James Crofts, one of the Queen's Privy Council, was a man who, like Elizabeth, was always anxious for peace. The Duke of Parma succeeded in persuading this gentleman, that Philip was equally anxious to make a peace on honourable terms. During the progress of the treaty, however, the English commissioners had several illustrations of Parma's duplicity. On one occasion, while the parties were

* LINGARD, v., 497.

deciding where the treaty should be held, one of Parma's retinue remarked that "*he knew not what in the mean time might be done against England.*" The expression was mentioned to Elizabeth, who sent one of her commissioners to the Duke of Parma for an explanation, and to ascertain whether there was an intention of invading England, as the words implied. The duke declared that when he wished to hasten the treaty, he had no thought of the invasion of England. He was also angry with *Richardot*, the individual who had used the words, and who now denied that he had uttered them. This was an instance of duplicity on the part of the Duke of Parma; for he well knew that the armament then in the ports of Spain was intended to act against England, and that the treaty was entered upon simply for the purpose of lulling the suspicions of Elizabeth and her wise and active ministers*.

There were other instances of treachery in these negotiations. The Duke of Parma pretended to be in a great hurry for the treaty to commence: and yet much time was wasted in discussing certain questions respecting the place of meeting, and the point of precedence. When these points had been settled, and allusions had been made to Philip's naval preparations, the Spanish commissioners assured the English plenipotentiaries that they were

* CLARK'S *England's Remembrancer*, 19; CARLETON'S *Thankful Remembrancer*, 138.

not intended to act against England*. It was in this way that the duke attempted to blind the eyes of the English people to the designs of his master, King Philip.

The deliberations were protracted by various means, until at last ALLEN'S *Admonition to the People of England* was actually printed. The circumstance was made known to the ministers of Elizabeth, for a copy was transmitted, shortly after it was printed, by one of the Lord Treasurer's spies, to the council in England: and Dale, one of the commissioners, was ordered to go to the Duke of Parma, and to remonstrate with that prince on the subject. Allen exhorted the English people to join the Duke of Parma against their Queen, as soon as he should land in the country. The duke denied that he had seen the work, or even the Pope's bull, which Allen had translated into English for dispersion among the people, and therefore could say nothing of its contents: he moreover declared that he would not undertake any enterprise at the command of the Pope, though he would obey his sovereign King Philip. The treacherous prince even pretended that, next to his own master, the English Queen was the highest in his estimation. As a proof of his affection for Elizabeth, he remarked to Dale that he had persuaded Philip to condescend to the treaty, since, as he observed, a peace would be much more advantageous to England.

* CLARKE'S *England's Remembrancer*, 19.

than to Spain. The reason assigned for the advantage on the side of England was this: *that if the Spaniards should be overcome in a war, they would soon recover their loss; but that if the English should be conquered, all would be lost.* Dale replied that the English Queen was provided with sufficient strength to defend her kingdom*. A most notorious falsehood was put forth by the Duke of Parma, when he declared that he had not seen Allen's book, nor the Pope's bull: yet such a course was perfectly consistent with Popish principles; it was constantly resorted to and enjoined by the Jesuits; and Parma himself considered that he was doing God service in attempting to overreach the English heretics.

Is there any reason for believing that such treachery would not be deemed lawful in the present day, if the interests of the Church of Rome required it? Something analogous to the treachery of Parma, in denying all knowledge of Allen's proceedings, may be found in the conduct of certain Roman Catholic members of parliament, respecting the oath imposed upon them by the Emancipation Bill. The conduct of these individuals affords abundant evidence that Popery is now what it was in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and that the same evasions and subterfuges are resorted to in the present day, as were

* CAMDEN, 545; *England's Remembrancer*, 23; CARLTON'S *Thankful Remembrancer*, 141-2; *Biographia Britannica*, i., 79.

practised in the more prosperous seasons of the Romish Church*.

The treaty was broken off when the armada appeared in the English Channel: but before we detail the particulars of the sailing of the armament, it may be desirable to submit a sketch of the Queen's preparations to meet the threatened invasion. Before the treaty closed, it was evident to the ministers of

* The Spaniards never wished for peace. All they wanted was the subjugation of England to the Spanish yoke. It is stated that the Spanish ambassador, some time before the sailing of the Armada, submitted to Elizabeth the terms on which she might expect peace, in the following Latin verses.

Te veto ne pergas bello defendere Belgas:
Quæ Dracus eripuit nunc restituentur oportet:
Quas pater evertit jubeo te condere cellas:
Religio Papæ fac restituetur ad unguem.

The Queen replied extempore.

Ad Græcas, bone Rex, fient mandata calendas.

Fuller, the Church historian, translates them in the following manner.

These to you are our commands,
Send no help to the Netherlands:
Of the treasure took by Drake,
Restitution you must make;
And those abbies build anew
Which your father overthrew:
If for any peace you hope,
In all points restore the Pope.

THE QUEEN'S REPLY.

Worthy King, know this, your will
At latter Lammas we'll fulfil.

See *Biographia Britannica*, iii., 1736.

Elizabeth that King Philip was determined, if possible, to subdue England. At that time some of the wisest men who ever lived sat in the councils of England: nothing escaped their observation. They were informed of the intentions of Spain, and they acted with energy and decision.

Twenty thousand men were stationed along the southern coast. Two other armies were raised: the one consisting of 1000 horse, and 22,000 infantry, was stationed at Tilbury to guard the approach to the metropolis: the other, of 2000 horse and 34,000 foot, was under Lord Hunsdon, as the Queen's own personal guard*. These were the actual forces of the country: but besides these there were vast numbers of gentlemen and others, who volunteered their services from all parts of the kingdom.

It was decided by a council of war, that the places which were deemed most convenient for the landing of troops should be fortified: for it was supposed that the Spaniards would select one of such places for a descent. The places specified by the council were Milford, Falmouth, Plymouth, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the Downs, Yarmouth, the mouth of the Thames, and a few others†. It was also determined, that if the landing could not be prevented, the inhabitants should retire as the enemy advanced, and lay waste the country, so that no supplies might be procured for the support of the

* CARTÉ, iii., 624.

† ECHARD, i., 869.

invading armies, and that they might be entirely dependant on their ships. Happily it was not necessary to carry this severe measure into effect: but no one can deny that it was dictated by the soundest policy. The council of war gave special orders also that the issue should not be dependant on the hazard of a battle. In a single battle the Spaniards, had they landed, would have been victorious, and all would have been lost. It was therefore resolved that the English army should retire, and thereby avoid a battle; but that they should constantly harass the enemy, giving them no rest by night or by day, and thus gradually wear them out, until at last a battle might safely be hazarded. The utmost efforts were to be made to prevent the landing of the enemy; but if that could not be hindered, it was deemed the wisest policy to retreat, until the troops could be collected from various parts in sufficient numbers to give the enemy battle.

Besides the land forces which were distributed in the order just mentioned, a fleet was fitted out, under the command of Effingham, the Lord Admiral, to join Drake, who was in the Channel. Lord Henry Seymour, with forty ships, was ordered to repair to the coast of Flanders, for the purpose of watching the movements of the Duke of Parma, and of preventing him from putting out to sea.

Every precaution was taken at home that prudence could devise. The Queen issued a letter to the lords

Lieutenants of Hampshire, in the month of June, when the Spanish fleet had actually sailed, requesting them to summon the gentlemen of the county, and to make known to them the Spanish preparations. They were reminded by the Queen's letter that all was at stake: "Wherein every man's particular state in the highest degree would be touched in respect of country, liberty, wives, children, lands, lives, and (which was especially to be regarded,) the profession of the true and sincere religion of Christ, and to lay before them the infinite and unspeakable miseries that would fall out upon any such accident and change, which miseries were evidently seen by the fruits of that hard and cruel government holden where such change happened*." Other letters of similar import were addressed to the nobility: and to enable the Queen to meet the emergency, a sum of money was borrowed from the city of London†.

In the present difficulty the Queen sent to James the Scottish sovereign. The Papists hoped to find an ally in James. His mother had been put to death by Elizabeth during the previous year: and it was expected that he would readily embrace such an opportunity of avenging her death. James, however, was sufficiently alive to his own interest to see that if Philip possessed himself of England, he would

* STYKE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 13—533. The whole letter may be seen in Strype.

† Ibid., 14, 15.

not hesitate to seize upon Scotland. He resolved, therefore, to act in conjunction with Elizabeth. He told Sir Robert Sydney, "that he expected no other favour than what Polyphemus promised Ulysses, that after the rest were devoured he should be swallowed last*." The Spanish hopes with respect to James were altogether frustrated; for he knew that his own crown and the Protestant religion in Scotland would have been placed in jeopardy by the success of King Philip in England.

The Romanists in England were another source of some anxiety to the Queen and her ministers. It was supposed by some of the council, that they would join with the Spaniards, on their landing, and that it would be prudent to pursue such a course of policy as to prevent them from carrying their designs into effect. It was said that the Spaniards abroad were less to be feared than the Papists at home, and that the former would not attempt the invasion, if they were not assured of support from the latter. Severity,

* Dr. Lingard, as usual, endeavours to give a different version of James's conduct. He says that James hesitated: "That the addition of a Spanish army, and of Spanish treasure, would have aroused him from his inactivity, and have made him the avenger of the death of his mother." There is no authority for the assertion of Dr. Lingard. James understood Philip's intentions, and his desire to succeed Elizabeth and to retain his own crown, which he knew he should not retain, if the Spaniard should accomplish his object, was stronger than his desire to avenge his mother's death. The truth is, Dr. Lingard has in this instance substituted his own mere assertions for historical facts.—LINGARD, v., 493.

therefore, was recommended; and the example of Henry VIII. was adduced, who, when the Emperor and the French monarch were instigated by the Pope to invade England, ordered the execution of several noblemen, who were merely suspected of favouring the enemy*. Elizabeth was never inclined to cruelty; nor did she believe that such a course was consistent with sound policy. She followed, therefore, the dictates of prudence, and merely committed some of the priests to Wisbeach Castle, where they were detained with scarcely any inconvenience to themselves, while she actually confided in and trusted some of the Romanist nobility†. It is probable, that the Spaniards entertained very exalted expectations respecting the aid to be derived from the English Romanists; but they forgot that their nation was anything but popular with any class of Englishmen, except the fugitive priests, who were entirely in the interest of the Jesuits. The Queen's confidence was not misplaced; for even the Romanists, with the exception of those in the Jesuit interest, were by no means disposed to submit to Spain, nor to see their country subjugated to foreigners‡. The Pope and King Philip, indeed, imagined that every Papist would turn against the Queen as soon as the Armada appeared on the English coast; and had Elizabeth adopted severe measures, many would undoubtedly have joined in an insurrection.

* CARLTON'S *Thankful Remembrance*, 136.

† ECHARD, vol. i., p. 869. ‡ OSBORN, p. 369.

The writer of the *Letter to Mendoza* probably gives a true description of the feelings of some of the Romanists. He states that some of them were in doubt whether they were acting right in expecting aid from the continent, and whether the Pope's method was the right way of reformation; whether the Pope could take the temporal sword and put it into the hand of King Philip to use it against Queen Elizabeth. The writer also states, that the publication of the books, which have already been mentioned, respecting the forces of Spain, before the armada was ready to sail, did infinite mischief to the cause, by stirring up the people to oppose the invasion. He complains also of the republication and renewal of the Bull of Pius V., and of Allen's *Admonition*, which, he says, staggered many of the Romanists themselves. Then it is intimated, that it was expected in England that those who came in the armada as volunteers, came in expectation of possessing the lands of the English nobles. All these causes combined, according to the writer of this letter, to place the Queen upon her guard, and led her to put the country into a state of complete defence*.

There were at that time two parties among the English Romanists, even among the priests. 1st, those who acted with the fugitives on the continent, and who were Jesuits: 2nd, the secular priests, as they were termed, who were averse to the views

* *Letter to Mendoza*, p. 3, 4, 5. Edition 1746.

and proceedings of the other party. On several occasions these parties actually opposed each other publicly. Some years after the defeat of the armada, a very important work was published by the secular priests, with Watson, who was bishop of Lincoln under Queen Mary, at their head, in which many of the proceedings of Elizabeth are justified, though condemned at the time by the Jesuits, and in the present day by all Popish historians, and in which also the Jesuits, and those who acted with them, are censured in the most unmeasured terms. One passage on the Spanish invasion is so much to the purpose, that I shall make no apology for quoting it. "But now we come to the year 1588, and to that most bloody attempt, not only against her Majesty and our common enemies, but against ourselves, all Catholics: nay, against this flourishing kingdom, and our own native country. The memory of which attempt will be (as we trust) an everlasting monument of Jesuitical treason and cruelty. For it is apparent in a treatise penned by the advice of Father Parsons altogether (as we do verily think) that the King of Spain was especially moved and drawn to that intended mischief against us by the long and daily solicitations of the Jesuits, and other English Catholics beyond the seas, affected and altogether given to Jesuitism. And whereas it is well known that the Duke of Medina Sidonia had given it out directly, that if once he might land in England, *both Catholics and heretics that came in his way should*

be all one to him ; his sword could not discern them, so he might make way for his master, all was one to him ; yet the said Father Parsons (for so we will ever charge him, though another man, by his crafty persuasion, took upon him to be the author of that book) did labour with all the rhetoric he had, to have persuaded us, upon the supposed arrival of the Spaniard, to have joined with him to our own destructions ; telling us many fair tales, and alluring us with sundry great promises, all of them mere illusions, falsehoods, and most traitorous instigations and jugglings. He ascribeth it to error of conscience and want of courage, terming the same an effeminate dastardy ; that we had then suffered her Majesty almost thirty years to reign over us. He threatened us with excommunication and utter ruin, both of ourselves and all our posterity, if we did then any longer obey, abet, or aid, defend or acknowledge her Highness to be our Queen or Superior ; and did not forthwith join ourselves with all our forces to the Spaniards. The Jesuit also telleth all Catholics, the better to comfort them, (but indeed to the great scandal for ever of all priesthood) and to show how just and holy the cause was they had in hand, that there were divers priests in the King's army, ready to serve every man's spiritual necessity, by confession, counsel, and all consolations in Christ Jesus."*

* Important Considerations, which ought to move all true and sound Catholics, who are not wholly Jesuited, to acknowledge, without

The individuals who published the document, from which the above extract is taken, were about thirty in number. They were conscientious men, opposed to the principles of the Jesuits, and to the proceedings of the Papal party on the continent. There always have been, and still are, men of this stamp in the Church of Rome; men, who, though they continued in outward communion with Rome, were actual dissenters from her principles. It is a law of the Roman church, that the decision of a general council is binding on all her members; and the principles entertained by the Jesuits, respecting the deposing of sovereigns and the treatment of heretics, were sanctioned by councils, whose authority was never denied or questioned. The secular priests acted as Englishmen; but not as Romanists. The Jesuits merely carried out the principles enjoined by the Church. I have, however, adduced the preceding extract as evidence of the practices of the great body of the Papists at the period in question; it proves that they are not slandered by Protestant writers. In the present day it is the policy to deny the facts; but that man who can persist in a denial must be exposed to the charge of dishonesty or of ignorance.

The secular priests, who wrote the *Important Considerations*, were the men who quitted their livings

all equivocations, ambiguities, or shiftings, that the proceedings of her Majesty and of the State with them, since the beginning of her Highness's reign, have been both mild and merciful. A.D. 1601. Reprinted 1677, p. 73, 74.

on Queen Elizabeth's accession. They were loyal to the Queen, though they were enemies to the Reformation. They formed a very small party; and when these men died off, their places were not supplied by others; for most of the English Romanists of a later date were altogether under the influence of the Jesuits and seminaries. The seculars cautioned the people against the Jesuits: "We desire you, by the mercies of God, to take heed of novelties and Jesuitism; for it is nothing but treachery, dissimulation, ambition, and a very wizard of most deep hypocrisy*." Yet the majority of English Romanists in the next reign, were under the influence of the Jesuits, or as it was termed, completely *Jesuited*.

While the military preparations were going forward, the Queen and her council were not unmindful of the source whence success and preservation were to be expected. They well knew that unless the Lord should keep the city, the watchmen might wake in vain. In this emergency, therefore, the nation was called upon to humble itself before God. Public prayers were enjoined to be used weekly, on Wednesdays and Fridays, for success; and a *Form of Prayer* was composed for that special purpose. The clergy of London were summoned to meet together, when they were strictly charged to observe the appointed days of fasting and prayer. Undoubtedly the clergy in other parts of the country were charged in a similar

* *Important Considerations*, p. 86.

manner. Strype quotes the following words from a manuscript of one of the London clergy of the period : " That being called together, they were required to be zealous in prayers and almsgiving, namely, on Wednesdays and Fridays ; and to stir up the people thereunto ; and proper homilies to be read for fasting, praying, and almsgiving*." The *Form* appointed to

* STRYPE'S *Annals*, III. ii. 15. I subjoin a few extracts from a prayer appointed to be read in the churches at this time. The prayer is entitled, *A Prayer to be Delivered from our Enemies*. " O Lord God of Hosts, most loving and merciful Father, we thy humble servants prostrate ourselves before thy divine Majesty, most heartily beseeching thee to grant us true repentance for our sins past ; namely, for our unthankfulness, contempt of thy word, lack of compassion towards the afflicted, envy, malice, strife, and contention among ourselves, and for all other our iniquities. Give us grace to confess and acknowledge, O Lord, with all humble and hearty thanks, thy wonderful and great benefits which thou hast bestowed on this thy Church and people of England, in giving unto us without all desert on our part, not only peace and quietness, but also in preserving our most gracious Queen, thine handmaid, so miraculously from so many conspiracies, perils, and dangers ; and in granting her good success against the attempts of our enemies. We do instantly beseech thee of thy gracious goodness to be merciful to thy Church militant here upon earth, many ways tried and tormented by the malice of Satan and his members ; and as at this time, as it were, compassed about with most strong and subtle adversaries. And especially, O Lord, let thine enemies know, and make them confess, that thou hast received England (which they most of all, for thy Gospel's sake, do malign,) into thine own protection. And forasmuch as thy cause now is in hand, we beseech thee to direct and go before our armies, both by sea and land ; bless and prosper them ; and grant unto them, O Lord, thy good and honourable success and victory. We

be used at the time was published under this title : *A Form of Prayer necessary for the present Time and State*. Whitgift, at that time Archbishop of Canterbury, sent his *directions* to all his suffragans, couched in the following terms. "Considering the dangerousness of the time, I think it very convenient that you cause public prayers to be had in every several parish within your diocese, according to the letters heretofore written unto you : forseeing that no order of fasting or other exercise be used than such as you shall prescribe, according to the laws and orders of the Church established. I have caused a book, upon the like occasions penned, to be newly printed, with some additions, which you may have for your diocese, if you send for the same. Lambeth, the 10th of July, 1588*."

The men of that day always pursued such a course in seasons of danger and difficulty. It was a frequent practice to set apart a day for public and national humiliation, or the Wednesday and Friday in each week during the continuance of the danger, were observed in that character. In short, Elizabeth and her ministers acted as true Protestants. They had suffered under the yoke of popery, they understood its character, and were resolved to use every lawful means for the preservation of their Protestant privileges. A·
acknowledge all power, strength, and victory to come from thee ; therefore we pray unto thee, O Lord ; thou art our help and our shield."

* STURGEON'S *Whitgift*, i., 526, 527.

prayer is preserved in Strype which was used in the Queen's chapel during the time when the invasion was expected. It had this title: *For Preservation and Success against the Spanish Navy and Forces*. It merits the attention of the Protestant of the present day. I submit a few passages to the notice of the reader.

“O Lord God, heavenly Father, the *Lord of Hosts*, without whose providence nothing proceedeth, and without whose mercy nothing is saved; in whose power are the hearts of princes, and the end of all their actions, have mercy upon thine afflicted Church; and especially regard thy servant Elizabeth, our most excellent Queen; to whom thy dispersed flock do fly in the anguish of their souls and the zeal of thy truth.

“Consider, O Lord, how long thy servant hath laboured to them for peace; but how proudly they prepare themselves unto battle. Arise therefore, maintain thine own cause, and judge thou between her and her enemies. She seeketh not her own honour, but thine; not the dominions of others, but a just defence of herself; not the shedding of Christian blood, but the saving of poor afflicted souls. Come down, therefore, come down, and deliver thy people by her. To vanquish is all one with thee, by few or by many, by want or by wealth, by weakness or by strength. The cause is thine, the enemies thine, the afflicted thine; the honour, victory, and triumph shall be thine.

“Give unto all her councils and captains wisdom, wariness, and courage, that they may speedily prevent the devices, and valiantly withstand the forces of all our enemies, that the fame of thy Gospel may be spread unto the ends of the world*.”

Happy would it be for England if those in authority would copy the example set them by Elizabeth and her ministers. Such a course would draw down especial blessings upon our beloved country. May all who are invested with power remember that they must give a strict account of its use or abuse to that glorious Being *by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice.*

* STYRPE's *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 546. This prayer was written by Anthony Marten.—*Ibid.* 31.

the harbour of Corunna and other neighbouring places. Several of the vessels were so shattered, that they were rendered altogether unfit for sailing: and some of them were actually lost on the coast of France.

The English admiral, knowing that the Spaniards were about to sail, made an attempt to put to sea; but was prevented by the same storm from accomplishing his purpose. He was compelled, therefore, to return to his former station. Some of the Spanish vessels, which had been separated from the fleet by the storm, were seen by certain English ships, which also had been dispersed by the winds. It was reported in England that the Spanish fleet had sustained so much damage, that it would not be possible for it to put to sea again this year: a report which Elizabeth, who was ready to believe what she wished, was inclined to credit. She thought that the intention of invading England would be relinquished until the next summer. Acting under the influence of this idea, and being anxious to curtail her expenses, the Queen ordered the admiral to send to Chatham *four* of his largest ships. This distinguished officer, suspecting that the intelligence respecting the Spanish fleet could not be depended on, and fearing that the armament might suddenly appear in the Channel, ventured to disobey Her Majesty's orders. He solicited as a favour that he might be permitted to retain the ships, even at his own expense, rather than send them home. He hinted that the intelligence from

Spain was not deserving of credit. Instead, therefore, of sending the ships to Chatham, the admiral set sail after some time towards the coast of Spain, in order, if possible, that he might destroy the Spanish fleet as it lay in the harbour. It so happened that the wind changed, when the lord admiral was approaching the Spanish coast. Fearing that the Spanish fleet would now set sail and be carried by the wind, which was then favourable, into the Channel, the admiral returned. The armada quitted Corunna on the 12th of July; so that it is probable that the English fleet passed the Spanish at sea without discovering it*.

To the Christian reader, who views all things as regulated by the superintending providence of Almighty God, the circumstances connected with the two fleets will appear truly wonderful. He may well exclaim, What has not God wrought! The English admiral bent his course towards Plymouth, from which harbour he had departed a short time before. The same gale which brought the admiral back to Plymouth, enabled the enemy to leave Corunna; and almost as soon as the ships were safely moored, the Spanish fleet was seen off the Lizard Point†. On returning to Plymouth harbour, many of the men were permitted to go on shore, as it was not expected that the armada would so soon make its appearance. While the English fleet was thus at ease, a common pirate accidentally arrived, with the intelligence that

* CARTE, iii., 626.

† LINGARD, v., 499.

the armada was in full sail, advancing towards the coast. This was on the 19th of July. The name of this individual has been preserved, and it deserves to be remembered to the latest posterity; it was THOMAS FLEMING. It seems that he fell in with the armada, and continued to sail with the Spaniards two or three days. He then quitted them, and proceeded to Plymouth, as has been mentioned. This was a most critical juncture. The armada was not expected so soon. No one can tell what the consequences might have been, had not this intelligence been communicated by the pirate. "Or else," says Stowe, "the Spaniards might have burnt the English ships lying in harbour." Stowe adds, "for this service he obtained his own pardon, and a pension during life*."

Another circumstance may be mentioned in connexion with this part of the narrative, as an illustration of the manner in which the providence of God frequently interposes to frustrate the designs of the sons of men. After the armada had got under sail the second time, they took a fisherman, who told them that the English admiral had heard of the storm, and retired to Plymouth, and that, not expecting an invasion this summer, he had laid up his ships and discharged most of his seamen. On hearing this intelligence, the Duke of Medina immediately conceived the plan of attacking the English fleet in the harbour. He had been ordered to sail towards

* TURNER'S *Elizabeth*, 675.

the Channel; but in consequence of the fisherman's intelligence, he so far broke his orders and sailed for Plymouth, "a resolution," says Hume, "which proved the safety of England."

Dr. Lingard gives a somewhat different version of the matter. He says that the Spanish officers were for attacking the English fleet at Plymouth as it lay at anchor: but the admiral opened his instructions which forbade hostilities till the army of Flanders was landed on the English shore*.

It is clear, however, that the providence of God was signally displayed in the matter. The English admiral was apprised of the sailing of the armada; and was thereby enabled to get himself in readiness for action.

The intelligence that the armada was advancing was brought by Fleming to the English admiral on the 19th of July; and on the 20th the Spanish fleet was seen about the middle of day, advancing towards the coast. The admiral got out to sea as soon as possible, in order to take a view of the fleet, which was sailing in the form of a crescent, the horns of which were seven miles asunder. Perceiving that they were far superior to the English in numbers, the admiral sent for some additional ships, which were afterwards added to his fleet†. Whether from perceiving the English fleet, or from his orders, the Duke of Medina changed his course and proceeded

* LINGARD, v., 499.

† CARTE, iii., 626.

towards Calais, in the hope, undoubtedly, of being succoured by the Duke of Parma. The English admiral permitted them to pass by, that he might get the wind of them and chase them.

On the 21st of July the lord admiral commenced an attack on the rear of the armada. Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher did the same with their respective vessels, tacking about and pouring in their broadsides upon the rear of the enemy. The Duke of Medina continued to steer towards Calais: but he was greatly annoyed by the English vessels, which, in consequence of being smaller and much lighter than those of Spain, were enabled to do much mischief to the armada, without receiving any damage in return. The action continued during the space of two hours, when the admiral deemed it safer to cease, as not less than forty of his vessels were not yet come up, being scarcely got out of harbour*. On this first day two large vessels were disabled by the English. One of these was taken the next day by Drake; Don Pedro, De Valdez, and some other noblemen, were on board the vessel. Drake commanded them to yield; but his request was not at first complied with, nor indeed until he made known his name. On discovering that the English ship was commanded by Drake, the Spaniards immediately yielded, and were received on board by the English commander, who treated them with much courtesy and hospitality. Don Pedro,

* CARTE, iii., 627; CLARKE's *England's Remembrancer*, 31.

indeed, ventured to say that they would not have submitted to any other man except Drake. The Spaniards continued at Plymouth during eighteen months, when they were liberated on paying for their ransom. The other vessel was also taken and brought to Plymouth.

The Spanish fleet continued its course, notwithstanding the engagement, during the 21st; but on the succeeding day, the day on which Drake captured the before-mentioned vessel, the Spanish commander slackened his course, in order to collect his scattered ships, and to assign them their stations, according to the plan which had previously been settled in Spain. He also despatched a messenger to the Duke of Parma to inform him of his distressing situation.

On the 23rd, the wind veering to the north, the Spanish fleet turned upon the English, which instantly tacked about. The English ships avoided grappling with the enemy, but delivered their broadsides and then steered off. The shot from the Spanish vessels generally passed over the heads of the English, while the broadsides of the latter told with considerable effect: only one Englishman of the name of Cock was killed during the engagement of this day. The lord admiral was advised by some of his officers to close upon the Spaniards, and to hazard a regular battle; but the advice was not followed, as the admiral knew that a regular army was on board the Spanish fleet, who would have used their small arms with

fearful effect. His object was to harass the Spaniards as much as possible without hazarding a regular engagement. He acted in this matter with great judgment, for it would have been exceedingly difficult to have boarded the Spanish ships. The admiral was aware too, that it was too dangerous to hazard a battle; because if the English fleet had been overcome, the country would have been at the mercy of the enemy. The Spaniards, however, sustained much damage during this day's engagement.

There was also a deficiency of ammunition on board the English fleet, arising probably from the parsimony of the Queen, who on all occasions was most anxious to save expense. Had the fleet been properly supplied, few of the Spanish vessels would have escaped. The admiral sent to the nearest ports for a supply of ammunition; but he was obliged to remain inactive during the whole of the 24th of July*. The necessary supply being at last procured, the English fleet was divided into four squadrons, with a view to an attack upon the enemy during the night. The admiral, Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher were the four distinguished officers, under whom it was intended that the attack should be made. This plan was defeated by a calm, which came on during the night, and continued all the next day, the 25th of July.

The English admiral now resolved to make his

* CARTE, 627.

next attack when the Spanish armada arrived in the Straits of Dover, where another English fleet was stationed. Much skirmishing, however, occurred on the 25th and the 26th, notwithstanding the calm, for the fleets were within a short distance of each other. On the 26th the admiral knighted several of his officers, as a reward for their bravery in the preceding actions. On the same day a gale sprang up, which enabled the armada to advance. At this time it was visible from the coast of England; but so far from being terrified by its approach, numbers of the English youth quitted their homes and joined the fleet: on the evening of the 27th of July the armada anchored before Calais. The Duke of Medina now sent messengers to the Duke of Parma, with a most earnest request to put his army on board, and to send him a number of fly boats, as he could not attack the English vessels with his large ships. The army of Parma was to be protected by the fleet until it was landed on the shores of England.

At this time the Spaniards imagined that they should easily effect a landing on our coasts. Their loss hitherto had been slight, and they could not foresee the danger that awaited them. Under these circumstances news was circulated in France, in Spain, and at Rome, that the armada was successful. A book, or pamphlet, was printed in Paris, in which it was declared that the Spaniards had gained a great victory, and that the admiral's ship and sixteen others

were sunk in the ocean. The Spanish ambassador at Paris entered the church of Notre Dame, waving his rapier and crying out with a loud voice "Victoria," "Victoria*." This practice of spreading false intelligence was still resorted to, as will be noticed in a subsequent page, after the dispersion of the armada.

The Duke of Parma was altogether unable to attend to the earnest entreaties of the Duke of Medina. Two months had elapsed since the first departure of the armada from Lisbon. At that time he was ready for action, but now he was unexpectedly called upon to make his arrangements, for the fleet had suddenly appeared. Parma used his utmost exertions, and promised to be ready in a short space; but the boats which he had prepared had become leaky from the heat of the summer; his provisions were not ready; and many of his men had withdrawn themselves, not expecting to be called out into actual service for a considerable time. Besides these difficulties there were others, which he would have found it no easy task to overcome, even had his boats and his army been in a state of readiness. The Dutch fleet was stationed before those harbours from which he intended to embark his troops; so that he would have found it extremely hazardous even to have made the attempt. As matters then stood, the thing was impracticable.

* TURNER'S *Elizabeth*, 679; STOWE, 748; *Letter to Mendoza*, 14.

Parma therefore replied to the pressing solicitations of Medina, that the vessels which, according to the King's instructions, he had prepared, were only suited for the transportation of troops; and that he could not put out to sea unless the coast were cleared of the Dutch ships which had blocked up the harbours. The troops, too, which he had put on board at Dunkirk were disembarked, in consequence of the English and Dutch fleets being so near*.

The messengers who were sent by the Duke of Medina to the Duke of Parma for succour, were accompanied by some of those individuals who had joined the expedition as volunteers: several of them did not return again to the fleet. The armada was now in imminent danger, though the Spaniards do not appear to have been aware of their perilous condition. They were, however, conscious of the danger of proceeding any further along the straits, for they were told by the pilots that they might be driven by the force of the tide into the Northern Ocean.

At this juncture the English fleet amounted to one hundred and forty sail of various sizes. The two fleets were anchored on the evening of the 27th of July, within gunshot of each other. During the next day a project was executed, which proved the first step towards the ruin of the armada.

The lord admiral selected eight of his worst ships, and ordered them to be filled with various com-

* STAYPE'S *Annals*, III. ii. 25.

bustible matters. At two o'clock on the morning of July 29th, these ships were permitted to drive with the wind and tide towards the armada. They were under the command of two officers, of the name of *Young* and *Prowse*, who were to return in a boat after they had fired the vessels. Suddenly, therefore, the Spaniards were startled by the light of these burning ships. All was consternation and confusion on board the armada. It was imagined that the whole fleet would be consumed. In this emergency the cables were instantly cut, and the whole fleet put to sea in a panic. They had not time to save their anchors—they thought only of flight. The most fatal consequences ensued: the heavy ships, in the confusion that prevailed, ran foul of each other; some lost their rudders, and others ran aground and were taken†. But for this project of the *fire-ships*, the event, humanly speaking, might have been very different. It was now no easy matter for the Duke of Medina to collect together his scattered fleet.

When Medina saw the burning ships approaching, he issued his orders to the whole fleet to weigh anchor, in order to avoid them, and to return to the same station as soon as the danger was over. It was easy to give the order—it was not so easy to obey it. Terror prevented the men from attending to the command of their leader; some ships were therefore carried into the ocean, while others struck upon the sands. The

† WATSON'S *Philip II.* vol. ii. 264.

duke in vain attempted to collect his scattered ships by firing a signal-gun from his own vessel after the first ships had passed by. However, putting his fleet into the best order he could, the Spanish commander sustained the attack of the English during the day. The battle continued from *four* o'clock in the morning until *six* in the evening, and terminated in the loss of several of the Spanish ships*.

On the 31st of July, the armada attempted to re-occupy its former station before Calais; but this was impossible. It was supposed, by the English admiral, that the Duke of Parma might put out to sea, while they were chasing the scattered Armada of Spain; but to prevent the execution of any such project, Lord Henry Seymour was despatched with a small squadron to join the Dutch on the coast of Flanders, who were stationed near those harbours from which the Spanish troops, if they should make the attempt, must embark. Instead of reaching Calais, the armada was driven towards Zealand; when this was observed by the lord admiral, the chase was relinquished.

The Spaniards now began to think that the conquest of England was not so easy a matter as they had anticipated. There was no longer any hope that the Duke of Parma would be able to embark his army; many of their ships were seriously injured, and their ammunition began to fail. In this emergency

* CARTE, iii. 628.

the Duke of Medina summoned a council of war, by whom it was determined to return into Spain by the Northern Ocean. To attempt to return through the Channel, or to land on the English coast, would have been destruction to the fleet; and all agreed that only one way remained open, round the north of Scotland and Ireland*. It was determined, therefore, to attempt to reach their own country by the northern seas.

The Spaniards now perceived that they ought to have secured certain harbours, as had been recommended by some of Philip's council, on the coast of Zealand. The armada, instead of being *invincible* from the size of the ships, was on that very account unable to contend with the English fleet. We have, therefore, another instance of infatuation in the councils of Spain, in building vessels of such a size as to render them unfit for use in those narrow seas in which the struggle was to take place.

Leaving the particulars connected with the Spanish fleet, after their dispersion at the end of July, for the next chapter, we may now notice one of those acts of Elizabeth which endeared her so much to her subjects. It has been stated that a considerable army was stationed at Tilbury, opposite Gravesend, for the purpose of guarding the approach to the metropolis. Queen Elizabeth visited the army at this place early in August, while the armada was endeavouring to force

* CARTE, 628. LINGARD, v. 501. WATSON'S *Philip II.*
vol. ii. 267.

its way back to Spain by the Northern Ocean. She remained in the camp for a day, and dined in the midst of her army. The troops were drawn out to receive Her Majesty, who rode up and down the ranks, encouraging the men by her presence, the general and three or four other superior officers accompanying her as she proceeded. During her stay with the army she was saluted, whenever she made her appearance, with the loudest demonstrations of joy, both by the soldiery and also the people, who assembled from all quarters to witness the royal proceedings. The writer of the *Letter to Mendoza*—the truth of whose description has never been impeached—says, in allusion to the Queen's visit to the camp, "I could enlarge this description with many more particulars of mine own sight, for thither I went, as many others did; and all that day, wandering from place to place, I never heard any word spoken of her but in praising her for her stately person and princely beauty, and in praying for her life and safety, and cursing all her enemies, both traitors and all papists, with earnest desires to venture their lives for her safety*."

* *Letter to Mendoza*, p. 22.—A notice in this letter furnishes an illustration of the common practice at this time of singing psalms—a practice derived from the Reformers. The writer says,—“And besides such particular acclamations, the whole army in every quarter did devoutly, at certain times, sing in her hearing, in very tunable manner, divers *psalms*, put into forms of prayer in praise of Almighty God, no ways to be disliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them.”—*Ibid.*

On the occasion of this visit, her Majesty addressed the army in a speech which merits the attention of all Protestants, and more especially at this particular juncture, when a most perfect contrast is presented in the public proceedings of the nation, to those of the age of Elizabeth. The address was couched in the following terms:—

“ My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you that I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear. I have always so behaved myself that (under God) I have always placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all—to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of ENGLAND too, and think fine scorn that PARMAR, or SPAIN, or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm,—to which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I

know that already, for your forwardness, you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, that shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my Lieutenant General (LEICESTER) shall be in my stead, than whom, never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and my people."

That such an address was well suited to the circumstances under which it was delivered must be admitted. Dr. Lingard, however, pretends to doubt whether such a speech was delivered by the Queen: "I have not," says he, "noticed the speech said to have been spoken by her Majesty at Tilbury. It might have been prepared for her as an address to the soldiers, if it had been necessary. But she certainly could not exhort them to fight after the enemy was gone, and when she had resolved to disband the army immediately*." He adds also, that "the danger was now over."

This extraordinary statement demands an investigation. In the *first* place, it cannot be said that Elizabeth was not capable of conceiving and uttering a speech like the above, for, on many occasions, she proved herself more than equal to such a task. In the *next* place, it is not true, as is stated by Dr. Lingard,

* LINGARD, v. 504.

that the danger was over. He would insinuate, that Elizabeth presented herself to the army, when all peril was out of the question. Such an insinuation is unworthy of an honest writer : for at the moment when the speech was delivered, the people were apprehensive of the landing of the Spaniards. Let the facts of the case be examined. Dr. Lingard himself fixes the Queen's visit to the camp at Tilbury on the 9th of August. Let this be borne in mind in the examination. It was only on the 31st of July that the Duke of Medina determined to return home by the Northern Ocean, and this determination was not known until some time after the Queen's visit to Tilbury. It was not known until some of the prisoners were examined. It was known that the armada was sailing away, pursued by the English fleet ; but the intentions of the Spaniards were not known ; nor could any one feel assured that they would not prove victorious over the English. Nay, it is clear, that at the period of the Queen's visit, the return of the Spanish fleet was expected. It is, indeed, stated, by a writer of undoubted veracity, Bishop Carleton, who wrote not long after the period, and who must have remembered the circumstances connected with the armada, that it was the rumour that the Spaniards would return that induced the Queen to visit the army. Speaking of the flight of the armada, he says, "The *English* navy followed, and sometimes the *Spanish* turned upon the *English*, insomuch that it was thought by many that

they would return back again. Upon which report the Queen came into the camp at Tilbury, and mustered the army, riding among them with a *leader's staff* in her hand, and did, by her presence and speech, animate both captains and soldiers with incredible courage*." At all events, the Queen must have been ignorant, on the 9th of August, of the fate of the armada.

Even as late as the 15th of August the English general was uncertain whether the Spaniards would return, as is evident from a letter from the Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Shrewsbury. After mentioning the Queen's visit, Leicester adds, "But God hath fought mightily for her Majesty, and I trust they be too much daunted to follow their pretended enterpriset." From this extract it is plain that Leicester did not believe that the danger was over even on the 15th of August, *six* days after the Queen's visit to the camp. The English admiral returned to the Downs on the 7th of August, but at that time he was unacquainted with the fate of the Spanish fleet‡.

But Dr. Lingard has intentionally suppressed another very important fact. It was not known in England that the Duke of Parma could not sail from the ports of the Netherlands; on the contrary, it was expected that he might land with his army; and, at the moment of

* CARLETON'S *Thankful Remembrance*, 155, 156.

† ELLIS'S *Letters*. Second series, iii. 141.

‡ *Letter to Mendoza*, 34.

the Queen's visit to the camp, it was supposed that he might effect a landing while the English admiral was chasing the armada. Parma had intended to waft his troops over while the armada was hovering near our shores; and it was natural, in the English, to expect that he would accomplish his purpose during the absence of the fleet. A letter is printed by Mr. Ellis, from Sir Edward Radcliffe to the Earl of Sussex, dated the 10th of August, 1588. It contains the following passage: "Whilst her Majesty was at dinner in my Lord General's tent, there came a post and brought intelligence that the Duke, with all his forces, was embarked for England, and that he would be here with as much speed as possibly he could. The news was presently published throughout the camp, to what end I know not, but no preparation is made for the sending for more men, which maketh us think the news untrue*." The intelligence evidently was not believed, but the circumstance proves, that there was an expectation that the Duke of Parma might embark and land his troops on the soil of England.

These facts must have been known to Dr. Lingard when he published his history. No other conclusion can, therefore, be arrived at, on this subject, than that the doctor has designedly been guilty of misrepresentation. The circumstance is, however, of a similar kind with many others in his history; it stamps the character of his work, and renders it of little authority

* *ELLIS'S Letters.* Second series, Vol. iii. 124.

in matters of such a nature. The man who can endeavour to give a false view of an important and interesting event in English history, cannot reasonably be surprised, if no reliance is placed on any of the statements which he may put forth.

The papal historian also mentions the Queen's determination to disband the army, as another proof that all danger was over, when she was at Tilbury, on the 9th of August. Now it is quite certain, that on the 9th of August, the second day after the admiral's return, the Queen's council could have known nothing of the fate of the Spanish fleet. Some time after, indeed, the council heard that the armada was steering its course towards Spain, and that the King of Scotland had issued strict orders that the Spaniards should not be permitted to land; and then the Queen gave an order for discharging a portion of the navy. But even after this order had been issued, a report was in circulation, that the Spanish navy had refreshed itself in the north, and was about to return to join the Duke of Parma. This report occasioned the previous orders to be countermanded, and the whole fleet was retained in readiness for action. In this posture did the English navy remain during eight or ten days, or to the latter end of August; and then, and not till then, the council received certain intelligence of the fate of the armada. Though, therefore, the danger was actually over on the 9th of August, when the Queen delivered her speech to the army at Tilbury, yet the

council did not know it; on the contrary, they expected that the armada would return, and that Parma would attempt to land his forces*.

It is in this way that such men as Dr. Lingard falsify the truth of history in those points in which the principles of the Church of Rome are involved. The papal historian has, in many points, evinced a disposition to fairness; but on all subjects connected with his own church, he is most partial and uncandid†.

* *Letter to Mendoza*, 34, 35.

† It appears to me that Dr. Nares, in his valuable *Life of Lord Burleigh*, has unintentionally, in a note, given some countenance to Dr. Lingard's statement, that the danger was over when the Queen was at Tilbury. The following is the note: "Queen Elizabeth has had the credit given her of being the occasion of people eating *goose* for dinner on Michaelmas-day; for having feasted upon a savoury one, on her way to Tilbury, and calling for a *half-pint bumper of Burgundy* to drink destruction to the Spanish fleet, she had no sooner drank it, than the news of its dispersion arrived. To commemorate, at once, the day, the dinner, and the victory, she ever afterwards, we are told, ate goose on St. Michael's day, in which she was followed by the court."—NARES'S *Memoirs of Lord Burleigh*, vol. iii. 334. Now it will be seen from what is stated in this chapter, that the statement contained in the note is erroneous; for the Queen's visit occurred long before St. Michael's day. Such a note should not have been inserted by Dr. Nares without pointing out its inaccuracy.

CHAPTER V.

Armada attempts to return to Spain. The English Admiral quits the Chase. A Storm overtakes the Armada. Disasters. Spanish Reports of Success. Philip's Conduct on hearing of his Loss. Spaniards ridiculed. Spanish Reasons for the Failure. The Pope writes a Letter of Condolence to Philip.

ON arriving at the decision mentioned in the preceding chapter, the Spaniards steered their course northward, in order to save their fleet, and reach the coast of Spain without interruption. How their hopes were disappointed remains now to be told.

During the previous actions, the English fleet, from some unaccountable cause, was deficient in ammunition, so that the battle could not be sustained with that vigour with which it would have been carried on had the necessary means been furnished by the Queen's government. Had this deficiency been known to the Spaniards, they would undoubtedly have acted differently in the matter. It was, however, graciously ordered that they should be ignorant of the wants of the English fleet.

In chasing the armada, the English admiral was especially careful to prevent them from putting into any of the Scottish ports. When it was perceived that the Spaniards were disposed to quit the coast of Scotland, and to return to Spain with all possible expedition, the English admiral determined to have

a farewell engagement with them near Flamborough Head. The Spanish commander was so alarmed at the prospect of a passage to Spain by the northern seas, that he would have struck his flag at the approach of the English navy, had he not been prevented by the *priests* on board the armada. In spite of all their efforts, he had determined to do so, if he should be again attacked. The English admiral was determined to attack the Spaniards; but two hours before the time fixed for the commencement of the engagement, a *flag* was hung out in the *Vice-Admiral* to summon a council, when it was found that they had not sufficient ammunition to sustain an action. It was resolved, therefore, to return to the Downs; so that in this instance fortune also favoured the Spaniard, for again, in consequence of the lack of ammunition, the admiral was under the necessity of relinquishing the battle, and the armada sailed away unmolested. On both these occasions, but for the want of ammunition, much more damage would have been sustained by the armada*. Still the providence of God so ordered it, that the greater portion of the boasted *Invincible Armada* should perish in another way. The deliverance was owing to the divine interposition, without the aid of human policy; and the nation, as will be seen in the sequel, were willing to give God the glory of the victory.

* CARTE, iii. 629. TURNER'S *Elizabeth*, 681. WATSON'S *Philip II.* vol. ii. 267.

After chasing the armada for three days, the English admiral, his ammunition failing, was compelled to return. The night after the separation of the two fleets, a violent storm arose: the misfortunes of the Spaniards now commenced in reality. In consequence of the want of their anchors, which had been lost in the Straits of Dover, when the sudden appearance of the *fire-ships* dispersed the fleet, they were driven about at the mercy of the storm. From this moment their dangers became more and more imminent, and comparatively few of the ships ever reached the Spanish coast.

Some particulars respecting the disasters of the *Invincible Armada* will not be uninteresting to the reader, who will not fail to discover the hand of God in the chastisement inflicted on a fleet to which a blasphemous appellation was applied.

It was early in the month of August, when the English admiral quitted the armada. The two fleets were not very distant from each other when the storm already alluded to arose. The English ships suffered but little, but the Spaniards were involved in the greatest difficulties. The armada continued to sail about the Orkneys, losing many men, as was evidenced by the bodies which were washed on the shore. It appears that the month of August, in the year 1588, was unusually cold and tempestuous. Being desirous to reach the coast of Spain, they endeavoured, at the latter end of the month, to get out to sea; but the

wind proving contrary, and a succession of storms ensuing, the fleet was scattered in various directions, and many were wrecked on the coast of Ireland. From a document, dated Oct. 9, 1588, and addressed to the Spanish ambassador in France, it appears that the Spaniards had then lost seventeen ships and nearly six thousand men. Fifteen ships had been previously lost in the engagements which occurred between the 21st and the 31st of July. Nearly five thousand men were slain or taken prisoners during the same time*. Some of the soldiers who landed on the coast of Ireland were attacked and defeated by the Queen's troops. The Earl of Tyrone, hearing of the landing of some of the Spaniards, sent two captains with a hundred and fifty men against them. The Spaniards were six hundred in number, still they were compelled to yield themselves prisoners. Some of these men were brought to London, and confined in Bridewell, where they continued more than a year. They were at length set at liberty.

There was published, just after the dispersion of the armada, a work under this title, "*Certain Advertisements out of Ireland, concerning the Losses happened to the Spanish Army upon the West Coasts of Ireland, in their Voyage intended from the Northern Isles beyond Scotland towards Spain.*" It contains a minute account of the vessels wrecked on the coast of Ireland, and of the examinations of many of the

* STREYFE'S *Annals*, III. ii. 543, 544.

Spanish prisoners. The period embraced in the work is the month of September, or the greater portion of it. Strype mentions the work, and he has inserted several extracts. A copy of this tract is in my possession, and from it the following particulars are derived.

On the 7th of September the crew of a bark, which had been in danger in the *Bay of Tralee*, surrendered themselves. There were twenty-four men on board, two of whom were the duke's own servants. On the 10th of September a frigate was wrecked on another part of the coast, and also a ship of large size, called *Our Lady of the Rosary*. Several Spanish noblemen were lost in the wreck, besides five hundred men of various ranks. About the same time two large ships were lost at another part; seven hundred men were drowned, and one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners. Many other ships are also specified as having been wrecked at the same time.

The examinations of the prisoners, as preserved in this tract, are extremely interesting. The first was that of *John Antonio De Monona*, dated the 11th of September. He stated that he and the rest parted from the English fleet on the coast of Scotland; that at that time they had lost 8000 men by sickness and in the engagements with the lord admiral. He could not tell where he left the Duke of Medina, but it was somewhere in the north seas, about eighteen days previous to the date of his examination. They

were separated by a storm. This individual mentioned, that it was the duke's wish, after the armada had quitted its station before *Calais*, to go to Flanders; but that he was prevented by contrary winds and the shallowness of the water. Two ships also, according to the prisoner's report, had been sunk off the coast of Scotland, in consequence of shots received from the English fleet.

Emanuel Fremosa was examined on the 12th of September. He stated that they anchored off *Calais*, expecting to be joined by the Duke of Parma. He mentions the loss of their anchors in consequence of the *fire-ships*, each ship losing two; and that the Duke of Medina was so fearful during the battle of the next day, that if the English had attempted to board the Spanish ships, he was of opinion that all would have yielded themselves prisoners. From this examination it appears also, that some of the men on board the Spanish ships died from hunger and thirst, their provisions being quite exhausted. Other particulars were elicited in the examination, such as, that a message came from the Duke of Parma while they were lying off *Calais*, that he could not join them until the following Friday, and that the Spanish troops said that if they could once reach Spain, they would not again interfere with the English.

Another prisoner stated, that all the horses and mules on board the armada were cast into the sea in order to preserve the water. Several other prisoners

were examined, who confirmed the preceding statements. Such is a brief outline of some of the particulars specified in this scarce tract.

Besides the ships lost on the coast of Ireland, others were wrecked on the coast of Norway, and some on the coast of Scotland. In short, only fifty-three vessels of the vast armada ever reached the Spanish coast. The number of men who were slain in battle, or perished at sea, was very great; nay, there was scarcely a noble family in Spain that did not lose a son, a brother, or a relative. Those who were wrecked on the coast of Scotland were treated with kindness by the people. "Early one morning," says Dr. M'Crie, "before the overthrow of the armada was known in Scotland, one of the baillies of the town appeared at his (James Melville) bedside, and informed him that a ship filled with Spaniards had entered their harbour;" adding, to deliver him from apprehensions, that they were come "not to give mercy, but to ask, and that the magistrates desired his advice how to act towards them." The commander was admitted to an audience, when he stated, that he had been separated from the fleet, and that his crew had suffered much from hunger and thirst, and that they now sought assistance from their friends the Scots. James Melville told the admiral, that on the score of friendship, the Spaniards had no claims on them; that the King of Spain was the vassal of the see of Rome, and that the Scots were in league with the English. He

added, that still they could feel for their sufferings, and that they were glad of an opportunity of proving that their religion was superior to that of their enemies. Before their departure, Melville received a printed account of the complete destruction of the armada, with the names of the principal persons who had perished. The Spanish admiral, a venerable old man, shed tears at the intelligence*.

When the Duke of Medina found that the English fleet had retired, he began to consider what course he should adopt. His own views pointed towards Spain; but there were certain considerations which rendered him uncomfortable. The Pope had prophesied that the armada would be successful. King Philip's vast expenses had been spent in vain; the glory of the Spaniards would be tarnished; the *invincible* navy would be a reproach; and England would remain unsubdued, if they returned to Spain. These reflections rendered the duke very uneasy. On the other hand, many of his men had been slain, and many more were sick or wounded. Some of their largest ships were lost; and all of them more or less injured. They determined at last to endeavour to reach the Spanish coast. They were surrounded by difficulties. Had they attempted to meet the English fleet, their destruction had been certain; and in the attempt to return home, storms and tempests, and hunger and

* M'CRIE'S *Life of Andrew Melville*, i. 375-7.

thirst, produced the same results with a large portion of the men on board the Spanish fleet.

The Duke of Parma had been prevented from putting out to sea by the Dutch and English fleets; but he did not escape the reproaches of some of his countrymen. Nay, some of them actually charged him with favouring the cause of the English Queen. It is said, that to satisfy the complainants, the duke punished some of his *purveyors*; but that, at the same time, he secretly rejoiced at the lesson which had been taught to some of his countrymen, who had boasted that the English would not venture to look them in the face*.

Great as were the losses on the part of Spain, the English fleet suffered very little. Not a hundred men were lost in all the actions with the armada; and only a single ship. The labours of the field were carried on as usual in England; no cottage even was burned; nor any injury inflicted on any one, though the Spaniards boasted of a certain victory. "After this great tempest from Spain was past," says a pious prelate, "the sun did shine as pleasantly in England as before. By all the Spanish preparations there was not a man called from his husbandry in England, nor any artificer from his trade; there was not so much as one cottage burned†."

The disgrace and mortification of the Spaniards

* CLARKE'S *England's Remembrance*, 52.

† CARLETON'S *Thankful Remembrance*, 164-5.

were so great, that many attempts were made to conceal their disasters, as well as to circulate false intelligence on the subject. A detail of these attempts will interest the reader, and furnish some curious illustrations of the conduct of the Popish party at that time.

Alluding to this subject Strype remarks, "Their next care was to impose lies upon the world, to conceal their shame, and the disgrace of their proud King. For they studiously gave out nothing but glory and victory in their news*." A pamphlet was printed in Spanish, containing an account of their great success in the various actions after the 21st of July. It was pretended that the intelligence was sent from London to the Spanish Ambassador at Paris. In this pamphlet it was roundly asserted, that the English navy was destroyed; that the nation was drowned in sorrow; and that the armada was gone towards Scotland. The last assertion was indeed correct, for the armada had been chased towards Scotland by the English admiral. A copy of the pamphlet was brought from Flanders by a Spaniard, who came to England; and it was soon translated into the English language.

Besides the pamphlet, several letters were written and circulated on the continent, purporting to contain accurate accounts of the successes of the armada over the English fleet. One, dated the 31st of September, asserts, that the English had lost *forty* ships in one engagement; that twenty-six were actually taken by

* STRYPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 32.

the Spaniards on the coast of Scotland; and that orders were issued in England, that no one should publish any news in any way, "which," says the writer, "is a confirmation of the aforesaid." On the 1st of September, a Spanish merchant wrote from Roan to his correspondent in Spain, "that it is held for matter most certain that they have fought with the English, spoiled and sunk many of them, and taken others; and that the rest (reported to be twenty-seven ships) are returned, spoiled, to the river of London, being all that could escape." In another letter, dated on the 2nd of September, written by a postmaster, it is positively asserted that the English navy was utterly discomfited, and that Drake was actually taken prisoner. Later still, in December, the postmaster of Bordeaux, stated in a letter, that the armada was in harbour in Scotland, and that the Scots had taken arms against England*.

Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, was the chief instrument in circulating such false reports. These reports were noticed by Drake, some time after, in an account of the engagements with the Spaniards. Drake says, "that they were not ashamed to publish, in sundry languages, in print, great victories in words, which they pretended to have obtained against this realm." Then, after alluding to their dispersion and defeat, he adds, "with all their great, terrible ostentation, they did not, in all their sailing round

* STAYFE's *Annals*, pp. 547-548.

about England, so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat of ours; or even burnt so much as one sheepcote of this land*.”

Another book was published, entitled “*An Answer to the Untruths published and printed in Spain in glory of their supposed Victory.*” The author was a Spanish gentleman who quitted the service of the Duke of Parma, and embraced the Protestant religion. It was dedicated to the Queen. Immediately after it was translated into English by *James Lea*. The translation was dedicated to the lord admiral. As Mendoza was the promoter of the false reports, the author addresses him in the beginning of his work. From this address we learn that Mendoza had written to Spain that the English fleet was routed, and that Drake, whose name struck terror into the hearts of Spaniards, was taken prisoner†.

At last, however, the truth was known. The attempts at concealment failed; for the Spaniards who returned home, published the intelligence of the disasters of the fleet. These contrary reports were circulated to alleviate the force of the shock. False as they were, yet they occupied the public mind until the defeat could be made known without danger of an insurrection‡.

King Philip received the account of the disastrous defeat with apparent indifference. That he did not

* *STRYPE'S Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 34, 35.

† *STRYPE, Ibid*, 140.

‡ *TURNER'S Elizabeth*, 685.

feel his loss, it would be folly to assert: but it was his policy to conceal his real feelings. It has been asserted that Philip ordered the Duke of Medina not to appear at court: but this is an error; for the duke, after his defeat, voluntarily retired into the country. The king was occupied in writing a letter when the intelligence of his losses was communicated to him. He paused while the message was delivered: and then said, that "he sent his fleet to fight against the English, not against the winds." He resumed his letter immediately*. This indifference was assumed: and to such a perfect master in the art of deceit the task was comparatively easy. According to some accounts he fell upon his knees, and thanked God that it was no worse.

It should be mentioned that Strype gives a very different account of Philip's conduct on receiving the news of the disaster of his fleet. He quotes from a work written at the time to the following effect: that Philip was at mass at the time: that after mass he swore, that he would waste his crown even to the value of a candlestick, pointing to one on the altar, but that he would either ruin Queen Elizabeth, or become her tributary. The priests attributed the failure to his not expelling the Moors from Spain, alleging that God would not use the Spaniards to reduce heretics, while they encouraged Mahometans†.

* ECHARD, i. 871.

† STRYPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 26, 27.

It appears that many of the Spanish troops died of disease, soon after their return to Spain. They had suffered much from hunger and disease on board: and in many cases, the landing in their own country was too late to save them. To use the language of an able writer they were "in nothing more fortunate than their companions, that had been buried in the ocean, but only that they found a grave in their own country*." Cardinal *Bentivoglio* says of the armada, "that there have been few other designs that were ever longer in the projecting, few carried on with greater preparations, and it may be not any after all more unhappy in the execution†."

The Spaniards expected success on the ground of their going forth to propagate the *true faith*: but the result may surely be viewed as an interposition of Divine Providence in favour of the Anglican Church, which, but for that interposition, would have been overspread by Popish superstition. Blind indeed must that man be, who does not see the hand of Providence in the whole of the proceedings connected with the Spanish armada.

As the Spaniards had boasted much before the armament sailed, they were exposed to derision from many quarters after the failure of the expedition.

* DR. GROVE, Bishop of Chichester. *The Examination of Bellarmine's Fifteenth Note of the Church. Temporal Felicity.* See it in GIBSON'S *Preservative*, Tit. iii., 187.

† Ibid.

The following *Pasquinade* was fastened on the walls in the city of Rome: *Pontificem mille annorum indulgentias largiturum esse de plenitudine potestatis sue, siquis certo sibi indicaverit quid sit factum de Classe Hispanica: quo abierit: in Cœlumne sublata: an ad Tartara detrusa: vel in aëra alicubi pendeat: an in aliquo mari fluctuet**. It is evident therefore that some persons at Rome were not sorry, that the proud boasting of the Spaniards proved to be vain.

It has been observed that the Spanish ambassador in Paris, *Mendoza*, boasted of victory when the armada was lying near Calais. At length the truth was known in the French metropolis—known to the very boys in the street. Some of the common pages, in order to annoy the ambassador, were accustomed, after the destruction of the armada, to stop him in the street, and pretend to beg of him some small preferments in England, as such small villages as London and York†. Before the armada sailed, the Spaniards foolishly began to sing their song of triumph in this distich;—

Tu, quæ Romanas voluisti spernere leges,
Hispano Disces subdere colla jugo.

After the victory the English Queen retorted the Epigram upon the Spaniards, and caused it to be inscribed on the chief ship in the fleet in the following words—

Tu qui Divinas voluisti spernere leges,
Fœmineo Disces subdere colla jugo.

* STRYPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 22.

† FOULIS'S *Romish Treasons*, 349.

When the armada was about to set sail, some of the Spanish clergy declared to the people, the glories of the expedition. Osorius, a Jesuit, was conspicuous, on this occasion, among the monks and friars in preaching on the merit of making war against the heretics. When the news of a pretended victory over the English was published, he was credulous enough to believe the intelligence, and actually gave thanks publicly for the defeat of the English navy. Soon after the true statement was published, and the Jesuit, on three several occasions, preached on humiliation for their great loss*.

When the wreck of the armada had arrived in Spain, and the full extent of their loss was known, the Spaniards began to assign reasons for their defeat. Some assigned one cause, and some another. Some charged the blame of the failure on the Duke of Parma, for not being ready to join the Duke of Medina, forgetting that he was unable, even if he had been ready, to evade the vigilance of the Dutch and English fleets. It was said that the duke secretly favoured Queen Elizabeth, than which no assertion was ever more destitute of foundation. To cover the disgrace involved in their defeat, this party alleged that the Duke of Medina's commission was of a limited nature, he being commanded not to engage with the English, until the Duke of Parma's forces had joined the fleet. That there was no foundation

* FOULIS'S *Romish Treasons*, 353.

for such a charge is proved by the fact that the Duke of Parma was continued in his post of Governor of the Netherlands long after the defeat of the armada. It is also certain, that he used his utmost exertions to put his troops on board. The Duke of Medina was afraid to engage with the English navy: he depended entirely on the landing of the Spanish army on the English shores. The council of King Philip never supposed that the armada would be thwarted by the English fleet: they imagined that they should be masters of the sea; and that the transportation of troops from the Netherlands to the mouth of the Thames would be perfectly easy. In this hope they were disappointed: the armada was unable to save itself; while the forces of the Duke of Parma were prevented from leaving their harbours by the Dutch shipping assisted by some English vessels. For some time, however, after the dispersion, the Duke of Parma expected the return of the armada to protect him in embarking his troops.

The Duke of Medina also imputed his ill success to his not being joined by Parma, and to his being too strictly tied by his injunctions which were framed by the council in Spain. It was said, that, but for the prohibition of not entering into an engagement until joined by the Duke of Parma, Medina would have attacked the English fleet, when they had first met with it in the Channel, and when it had not more than half its complement of ships*.

* CARTE, iii. 629.

The truth is the Spaniards had boasted so much before the sailing of the armada, that they were ashamed of their conduct when their defeat placed it in its true light before their eyes. The Romanists have often made success an argument of a good cause. One of Bellarmine's notes of the Church is *Temporal Felicity*. Strada, the historian of the Netherlands, remembering what the members of his Church had often said on the subject, in alluding to the loss of the armada, says, *That the English were not more holy because they were more fortunate: since by the same reasoning the creed of the Saracens and the Turks, who had often been successful in engagements with the Christians, is to be preferred to that of the Christian Church**. This reasoning is perfectly correct, and is admitted by Protestants. Papists, however, use success, when on their own side, as an argument in their favour: while they are unwilling to allow others the use of the same argument.

It was stated in a previous chapter that the Pope had promised a million of crowns in aid of the expenses of the armada. The Pontiff, however, took special care not to advance a single farthing: nor was a single farthing ever paid to King Philip. He freely renewed the bull of Pius V., which cost him nothing; and most kindly gave away Elizabeth's kingdom to his Majesty of Spain: but no money was forthcoming. The Pope merely promised the specified sum as soon as he received certain intelligence of

* See GIBSON'S *Preservative*, Tit. ii. 87.

the landing of the Spanish army on the English shores. After the defeat of the armada, the Pontiff, who had predicted success to the Spanish arms, wrote letters of condolence to Philip on his losses. It is evident that he was anxious not to be called upon to assist in defraying the expenses that had been incurred. He, therefore, blamed the chief of the expedition. Philip frequently smiled while he was reading the letter. He doubtless saw the intentions of the Pontiff. Still it was necessary to send a reply. He told the Pope, that he sent his fleets to fight with the enemies of Christ, not with the Seasons, and that he saw no cause for blaming his officers. He added, that the loss concerned the Pontiff as much as himself, as it had been undertaken by his direction: and that in the next attempt the Church must lead the way and he would follow*.

Never in the history of the world, was there a more signal overthrow of a fleet or an army. The curse causeless shall not come: and here the curse was converted into a blessing: for the failure of the attempt became the means of strengthening the hands of Elizabeth. King Philip and the Pope designated the navy *the Invincible Armada*: yet the fleet was not merely conquered, but the greater part of it actually destroyed. Though "called by them the invincible armada, yet, by the good providence of God was at last dispersed and miserably shattered†."

* Continuation of PLATINA's *Lives of the Popes*, ii. 198, 199.

† STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, i. 524.

CHAPTER VI.

Elizabeth's Conduct after the Defeat of the Armada. Rejoicings and Thanksgivings. Days observed. A Contrast between those times and our own. King James. Medals struck. Foreign Protestants. Beza. Dr. Lingard's slander confuted.

HAVING detailed the reverses of the Spaniards, and noticed the manner in which the intelligence was received in Spain, it is now time to return to England to see how Queen Elizabeth conducted herself on the memorable occasion of the defeat of the *Invincible Armada*.

When the danger was imminent, the Queen and her council, and the whole nation, humbled themselves before God. They supplicated Him to avert the judgments which seemed to be impending over the land; they confessed their sins before Him; and looked to Him alone for help in their hour of need. The prayers ordered to be publicly used at that time have already been given. There is, however, a letter preserved from Leicester to the Queen, which proves, whatever may have been the character of the writer himself, that no one could approach Elizabeth in such circumstances as those in which the country was then placed, without recognising the sovereignty of Jehovah in disposing of kingdoms and states. It may furnish a useful lesson to modern statesmen. The letter is

dated July 21st, just when the armada was commencing the engagement with the English fleet. He says, "The cause you are assailed for is His and His Church's: and He never failed any that faithfully put their chief trust in His goodness. To comfort you withal, He hath given you great and mighty means to defend yourself, which, I doubt not, your Majesty timely and princely use: and He that ruleth all will assist and bless you with victory*."

As the Queen and the nation had humbled themselves before God when the danger was threatening, so when it was past they deemed it to be their duty to show forth their gratitude for the wonderful deliverance which had been wrought out for them, and which no human strength could have effected. Of the proceedings on occasion of the defeat of the armada, therefore, I shall now give some account, feeling assured that the Protestant reader will be deeply interested in the detail.

The whole kingdom was animated by one feeling of joy on hearing of the complete dispersion of the armada. It appears that the first public notice of the event was at St. Paul's Cross on the 20th of August: this was as soon as the intelligence of the complete dispersion of the armada could have reached London. On this occasion Nowel, the Dean of St. Paul's, preached a Thanksgiving Sermon, the lord mayor and aldermen being present. The preacher exhorted

* TURNER'S *Elizabeth*, 674.

his audience to give thanks to God for his great goodness in delivering the nation from papal tyranny. Special offices were also appointed to be used in the churches.

The 8th of September was kept as another day of public thanksgiving. At this time more particulars had been received respecting the fate of the Spanish fleet; and it was known that there was no possibility of the return of the Spaniards. The preacher, on this occasion, therefore, alluded particularly to the overthrow of the armada, attributing the success to God. Eleven ensigns, or banners, were publicly exhibited: they had been taken from the Spanish ships, and were a grateful sight to the people. On one of them was painted the Virgin, with her son in her arms; this was held over the pulpit during the sermon. The next day was the *fair* usually held in the borough of Southwark, when the same banners were suspended on London Bridge, to be seen by all who passed over*.

* It is stated in the *Letter to Mendoza*, that "the former rage of the people was greatly assuaged, their fury generally converted into triumph, by boasting in every place that this was the act of God, who had heard the fervent prayers of the people, and was pleased with their former prayers and fastings: to have such banners and streamers which the Spaniards meant to have brought and set up in all places of the city, as monuments of their triumphs, by his good providence in punishing the pride of the Spaniards, now to be erected by the English as monuments of their victories and of perpetual shame to the Spaniards."—See *Letter to Mendoza*, 36.

The day of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne was the 17th of November: this day, therefore, had been annually celebrated as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, and this year it was observed with unusual demonstrations of joy, *first*, for the Queen's accession, *secondly*, for the deliverance of the nation from papal tyranny. Cooper, bishop of Winchester, was the preacher at Paul's Cross. Her Majesty was to have been present at this time; but from some cause, not mentioned by our historians, she was prevented from coming, as she had intended. *A Form of Prayer*, suited to the occasion, was used on this day, from which, as it bears on the question of the deliverance from Popery by the death of Queen Mary, and was used with peculiar fervour by those who assembled on the 17th of November, I select the *first*, entitled *A Prayer of Thanksgiving for the Queen*.

"O Lord God, most merciful Father, who, as upon this day, placing on the throne thy servant, our sovereign and gracious Queen Elizabeth, didst deliver the people of England from danger of war and oppression, both of body by tyranny, and of conscience by superstition; restoring peace and true religion, with liberty both of bodies and minds; and hath continued the same to us without all desert on our part, now by the space of these (*here the number of years since the Queen's accession were mentioned*) years; we, who are in memory of these thy great

benefits, assembled here together, most humbly beseech thy fatherly goodness to grant us grace, that we may, in word, deed, and heart, show ourselves thankful and obedient unto thee for the same. And that our Queen, through thy grace, may in all honour, goodness, and godliness, long and many years reign over us: and we obey and enjoy her, with the continuance of thy great blessings, that thou hast by her, thy minister, poured upon us*.”

An anthem was also composed and printed, in two parts, to be sung in all churches on the 17th day of November, after the prayers were concluded; the whole anthem may be seen in Strype. I subjoin a few stanzas as a specimen of the manner in which our ancestors evinced their gratitude to God, for the merciful and gracious providences of which they were especially the subjects.

To Thee, O God, we yield all praise,
Thou art our help alone :
To Thee it is we sing always,
To Thee, and else to none.

Then bow to us, good Lord, thine ear,
And hear us when we cry :
Preserve thy Church now planted here,
And watch it with thine eye.

Lord, keep ELIZABETH our Queen,
Defend her in thy sight ;
Show forth thyself, as thou hast been,
Her fortress and her might.

* STRYPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 516.

Preserve her grace, confound her foes,
And bring them down full low :
Lord, turn thy hand against all those
That would her overthrow.

After evening prayer, another anthem was appointed to be sung, from which I select the following specimen:—

As for thy gifts we render praise,
So Lord, we crave still blessed days.
Let thy sweet word and gospel pure,
With us, dear God, for aye endure :
With prosperous reign increase it still
That sound thereof the world may fill*.

These stanzas are decided indications of the state of feeling among the people in the days of Elizabeth; they show that the country did not lose sight of that gracious Being, from whom alone all good things proceed. It is, in my own estimation, delightful to trace the feelings of our ancestors in the prayers enjoined on such occasions, and in the metrical compositions, rude though they may be, which were used

* STRYPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., pp. 393-4. These extracts from the laborious Strype may serve to illustrate another subject. It has sometimes been asserted, that the Reformers did not in using the term *Anthem* in the rubrics, signify metrical psalms, or metrical compositions at all. It is clear from these extracts that there is no foundation for such an assertion; metrical compositions were used. It is stated, in a quotation on a preceding page, that psalms were sung by the soldiers in the camp at Tilbury, on occasion of Her Majesty's visit. It is further evident, that other metrical compositions were used besides the version of the *Psalms* by Sternhold and Hopkins.

in the public services. The 17th of November, 1588, was a day of unusual joy. The people commemorated two deliverances on this day, namely, the deliverance from Popery by the death of Queen Mary, and also from the same danger by the defeat of the armada. I may also mention, that I give extracts from the prayers used on public occasions for the purpose of showing how completely alive the people of England were, in past ages, to the errors of the Romish Church, as well as to the dangers to which the reception of Popery would have exposed the country.

Tuesday, the 19th of November, was observed as a day of thanksgiving throughout the whole kingdom. Sermons were preached, psalms sung, thanksgivings publicly offered up, and the song of praise resounded from one end of the country to the other. On this occasion another sermon was preached at St. Paul's Cross, before the lord mayor, the citizens of London, and the assembled multitude. It appears that this was the day generally observed in the country in commemoration of the defeat of the armada; it was observed too, with great joy by all persons.

But the principal day for the celebration of the glorious success, which had been so graciously vouchsafed, was Sunday, the 24th of November. On this day the Queen, attended by her privy-council, the nobility, the French ambassador, the judges, and a numerous train, proceeded to St. Paul's Church in a chariot drawn by two horses. The court resided at

that time in the Palace of Whitehall. In going to St. Paul's Church, the procession advanced through the streets, which were crowded with spectators, and hung on all sides, with blue cloth; the various city companies, in their respective costumes, lining the roads as her Majesty passed. Arriving at the western entrance to the Cathedral, the Queen fell upon her knees on the pavement, and, in words sufficiently loud to be heard by those who were near, praised and thanked God as her only defender, who had delivered herself and her people from the cruel designs of her implacable enemies. After the prayers, a sermon was, as usual, preached on the occasion. Pierse, bishop of Sarum, was the preacher. The sermon was suited to the circumstances in which the country was then placed. All the glory was given to HIM, to whom alone it was due; and the people were exhorted to lift up their hearts in grateful acknowledgement of His goodness. Her Majesty also addressed a few words to the people, at the conclusion of the services, beseeching them to attend to those duties of praise and thanksgiving, which devolved upon them in consequence of their signal deliverance*.

One of the best descriptions of the proceedings, perhaps, consequent upon the defeat of the armada, is to be found in the *Letter to Mendoza* so often referred to, and which, being a contemporary publication, is of great value as far as statements of facts are concerned.

* ECHARD, i. 872. CLARKE'S *England's Remembrancer*, 64.

The following extract will be read with interest. "Upon these shows great rejoicings followed: and as in *June* and *July* past, all churches were filled daily with people exercised with prayers, shows of repentance, and petitions to God for defence against their enemies: and in many churches continually thrice in the week exercises of prayers, sermons, and fastings, all the day long from morning to evening, with great admiration to see such general devotion, (which I and others did judge to proceed more of fear than of devotion :) so now, since the English navy is returned, and the Spanish navy defeated, and intelligence brought of the disorders in Flanders, of the dissensions between the Spaniards and the other soldiers, of the contempt of the Duke of Parma by the Spaniards, being thereto maintained by a duke, called the Duke of *Pastraro*, The King Catholic's bastard, and of the departure and running away of the duke's mariners, here is a like concourse of the people to sermons in all churches: wherein is remembered the great goodness of God towards England, by the delivery thereof from the threatened conquest, and prayers also publicly to give thanks to God for the same*."

During the remainder of the reign of Elizabeth, the reign of James I., and the former part of that of Charles I., sermons were annually preached in London and probably in other places, in commemoration of the deliverance of the Church and nation from the

* *Letter to Mendoza*, 36, 37.

designs of the Papists. Some of these sermons were published and are still to be found. Taylor, minister of Aldermanbury, preached a sermon on the subject in the year 1631, which was published. An extract from this sermon will serve to show how the Popish attempt was regarded at the time when the discourse was delivered. The sermon itself is entitled "EIGHTY-EIGHT." Alluding to the deliverances, which had been wrought out for the English nation, he remarks: "Witness that admirable year eighty-eight, the commemoration and celebration of which is our errand and business on this day. It was a year of *strange expectation*, before it came, and of *admiration*, when it was come. Some designed it to be the end of the world but were deceived. Others designed it to be the doomsday of England, the ruin of our Church and religion, and the funerals of our prince, people, and kingdom, all on one day: but these also through the great mercy of God were deceived." Alluding to Queen Elizabeth's visit to the army at Tilbury he adds, "and this day three and forty years, she returned home from the view of her camp, being the tenth of *August*, which I conceive to be the reason why the grave citizen appointed this day for that commemoration*."

The subject was frequently alluded to in sermons, which were not preached especially on the subject of the armada. The following is from a sermon of the same period. "When Spain rose up like a flood, and

* TAYLOR'S *Works*, fol. 567, 569.

like a dragon in the sea troubled the waters with his fleet: when every ship was ballasted with destruction, and the pregnant sails swelled with fury more than wind, *Thus saith the Lord your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel; for your sakes have I brought down (that sea-built) Babel. They were all fugitives and the Chaldeans cried in their ships.* He smote that multitude whose pride was higher wrought than the seas that bare them, and by the breath of his rebuke made them fly like dust before the whirlwind. Every billow chasing them, and as it were having them upon the execution, till at last the rocks became their monument, and the fierce northern sea their grave*.”

A *Form of Thanksgiving*, to be used in all churches on occasion of the overthrow of the Armada, was set forth by authority. For the purpose of pointing out to the reader how our ancestors felt and acted on the subject of Popery, I shall subjoin a portion of this beautiful *Thanksgiving*.

“We cannot but confess, O Lord God, that the late terrible intended invasion of most cruel enemies was sent from thee, to the punishment of our sins, our pride, our covetousness, our excess in meat and drink, our security, our ingratitude, and our unthankfulness towards thee for so long peace, and other thine infinite blessings continually poured upon us: and to the punishment of other our innumerable and most

* See a Sermon by Henry King, D.D., one of His Majesty's Chaplans, p. 70. London, 1626.

grievous offences, continually committed against thy Divine Majesty: and indeed our guilty consciences looked for, even at that time, the execution of that terrible justice upon us, so by us deserved. But thou, O Lord God, who knowest all things, knowing that our enemies came not of justice to punish us for our sins committed against thy Divine Majesty, (whom they by their excessive wickedness have offended, and continually do offend, as much or more than we) but that they came with most cruel intent and purpose to destroy us, our cities, towns, countries, and people: and utterly to root out the memory of our nation from off the earth for ever. And withal wholly to suppress thy holy word and blessed Gospel of thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ: Which they, being drowned in idolatry and superstition do hate most deadly: and as likely only for the profession of the same, and not for any offences against thy Divine Majesty, or injuries done to themselves.

“Wherefore it hath pleased thee, O heavenly Father, in thy justice to remember thy mercy towards us: turning our enemies from us, and that dreadful execution which they intended towards us, into a fatherly and most merciful admonition of us, to the amendment of our lives, and to execute justice upon our cruel enemies: turning the destruction that they intended against us upon their own heads. For the which the same thy most gracious protection, and all other thy graces, without our deserts, continually and

most plentifully poured upon our Church, our Queen, and realm, and people of the whole land, we beseech thee, add and pour also the grace of gratitude and thankfulness into our hearts *."

It must necessarily strike the reader, that in those days the people of this country always humbled themselves before God, whenever His judgments were abroad in the earth. How many days of fasting and humiliation, were observed during the prosperous reign of Queen Elizabeth. So when it pleased God to bestow abundant blessings on the country, or to deliver them from impending dangers, the people invariably evinced their gratitude, by setting apart a portion of their time for praise and thanksgiving. And on these occasions, the rulers of the land were the leaders. Both the humiliations and the thanksgivings were truly national. The practice was continued during the reigns of James I., Charles I., Charles II., James II., William and Mary, Queen Anne, and down to the latter period of the reign of George III. During the last quarter of a century, however, such seasons have been very unfrequent. It appears, indeed, as if rulers and public men imagined that they can govern the world without the intervention of the Supreme Being: at all events, as a nation, we have sadly degenerated from the practices of our ancestors, who in times of prosperity never permitted a year to steal away, without dedicating one or more days to God by solemn praise and

* STYRPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 28-29.

thanksgiving. Not only was the deliverance from the attempt of the Pope and Spaniard celebrated in England, whose Queen and people were more immediately concerned ; but King James and the Scottish nation, on receiving the intelligence of the dispersion of the armada, set apart a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God. It may interest the reader to detail a few facts connected with King James' conduct during the year 1588, and especially as Dr. Lingard has insinuated that the Scottish monarch was inclined to favour the Spaniards.

Some of the Roman Catholic nobles in Scotland were anxious for the success of the armada : but the King and the great body of the people were determined to resist the attempt of King Philip, and to preserve, at any hazard, their liberties and their religion.

The intelligence of the sailing of the armada being conveyed to Scotland, King James summoned the Estates of the kingdom to a meeting at Edinburgh, when he addressed them in a speech. He said, "The case of England ere it be long may turn to be our own and we forced to share with them in their troubles. The intention of Spain I know, is against England ; and considering the right I have to that crown after the Queen's death that now reigns, I see not how it shall be safe for me to let another possess himself of that kingdom : nor will any man make me to think that the King of Spain, if he shall chance to prevail, will part with it, and give place to my right, having once

made conquest thereof. As now whilst the event is doubtful, they speak fair and make liberal promises: but if matters succeed to their minds, we shall hear other words. I am not ignorant what the opinion of many is, and that they think I have now a fair occasion to revenge the wrong and unkindness I received by the death of my mother. But whatever I think of the excuses which the Queen hath made to me, I will not be so foolish as to take the help of one that is mightier than myself: nor will I give such liberty to mine own passions, as therefore to neglect religion, and cast in hazard both this kingdom and those others that belong to me after her death *."

This speech was seconded by another from the chancellor, who recommended that the nation should put itself into a posture of defence. The chancellor's advice was followed.

A day of humiliation was appointed, when the armada was in the channel †: and when its dispersion was known, "The king caused solemn thanksgiving for this deliverance to be given to God, in all churches of the kingdom, beginning in his own court for an ensample to others ‡." King James was as much interested in the defeat of the Spanish forces as Queen Elizabeth.

Medals were struck in commemoration of the ruin of the armada, both in England and in the Low Countries. One of the English medals bore an im-

* SPOTTISWOODE, 369, 370. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid, 372.

pression of a fleet hastening away at full sail, with this inscription, "*Venit, Vidit, Fugit*;" and another bore this inscription, "*Dux Fœmina facti*." In the Low Countries a medal was struck, bearing on the one side the arms of their country, with this inscription, "*Glory to God alone*;" and on the reverse the figures of ships, with the words *The Spanish Fleet*. On other medals were stamped floating and sinking ships on the one side, and on the reverse supplicants upon their knees, with the motto, "*Man proposeth, God disposeth*, 1588." Others bore the following inscriptions, "*Impius fugit nemine sequente*," and "*Afflavit Deus et Dissipantur*." These medals are evidences of the destruction of the armada, and may be regarded as memorials to succeeding generations, of the marvellous goodness of the Lord to our forefathers.

The success with which the Queen's efforts were crowned was also hailed with great joy by the Protestant churches on the continent, who saw nothing but ruin to themselves in the successes of the Spanish arms. Queen Elizabeth had long been regarded as the protector of the foreign Protestants; when, therefore, the armada was in the Channel, the eyes of all Protestants were directed towards England. Their prayers also were addressed to Heaven in behalf of the Queen and the Anglican church; and when it became known that the armada was scattered and defeated, the most eminent pens amongst the Reformers on the continent, were employed in celebrating

the glorious victory. As an illustration of the feelings with which Elizabeth was regarded by the Protestant churches abroad, and as an answer to the calumnies heaped upon her memory, by not a few dissenting writers of modern times, I subjoin the following poem from the pen of the most eminent of the foreign reformers of the period, THEODORE BEZA.

Straverat innumeris Hispanus Classibus æquor,
 Regnis juncturus sceptrâ Brittannâ suis.
 Tanti hujus rogitas quæ motus causa ? Superbos
 Impulit ambitio, vexat avaritia.
 Quam bene te ambitio mersit vanissima ventus ;
 Et tumidæ tumidos vos superastis aquæ !
 Quam bene raptores orbis totius Iberos,
 Mersit inexhausti justâ vorago maris !
 At tu cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
 Regina, O mundi totius una decus :
 Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
 Prodigâ sic opibus perge juvare pios ;
 Ut te Angli longum, longum Anglis ipsa fruaris,
 Quam dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis *.

* King James I., who wrote both theology and poetry, exercised his poetical skill on the defeat of the armada. The following sonnet was composed by his Majesty on the occasion.

The nations banded gainst the Lord of might,
 Prepared a force and set them to the way :
Mars drest himselfe in such an awfull plight,
 The like thereof was never seene they say :
 They forward came in monstrous aray,
 Both sea and land beset us every where ;
 Braggés threatened us a ruinous decay.
 What came of that ? The issue did declare.
 The windes began to tosse them here and there,
 The seas began in foaming waves to swell ;

These lines show the estimation in which Elizabeth was held by foreign Protestants; and they furnish an answer to the oft-repeated slander, that the Queen was a favourer of popery. Beza and his brethren did not entertain any such notion; they were grateful to the Queen for her support, and they viewed the Church of England as the bulwark of the reformation.

Elizabeth's memory has also been exposed to another modern slander, but of exactly an opposite character to that of a Popish leaning, so frequently alleged by Dissenters. The papal historian says that she "celebrated her triumph with the immolation of human victims. A commission was issued; a selection was made from the Catholics in prison on account of religion, and six clergymen were indicted for their priestly character*." I have abundantly proved, in a

The number that escaped, it fell them faire :
 The rest were swallowed up in gulfes of hell :
 But how were all these things miraculous done !
 God laught at them out of his heavenly throne.

King James's Works, i., 80.

I cannot forbear from quoting the lines of Cowper, in allusion to the same event.

His power secured thee, when presumptuous Spain,
 Baptized her fleet invincible in vain :
 Her gloomy monarch, doubtful, and resigned
 To every pang that racks an anxious mind,
 Asked of the waves that broke upon his coast,
 What tidings ! and the surge replied—All lost !

* LINGARD, v., 509.

former work, that those priests who were executed during this reign, were put to death for treasonable practices, and not on account of their religious views*. It is a subject respecting which there need be no dispute, for the proceedings on the trials show that the parties were implicated in the crime of treason. Sir Francis Walsingham, alluding, in a letter to the Secretary of France, to the charge of cruelty alleged against Elizabeth, asserts, that the Queen's "proceedings towards the Papists was with great lenity, expecting the good effects which time might work in them." After stating that the Queen did not revive the laws of Henry's reign, respecting the oath of supremacy, he adds, "her Majesty not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow in overt and express acts or affirmations, tempered her laws so as it restraineth every manifest disobedience." Walsingham proceeds to show, that after the BULL of Pius V., the Queen merely enacted a law against bringing in any bull from Rome: and in reference to a subsequent period, he proceeds, "when about the twentieth year of her reign, she had discovered in the King of Spain an intention to invade her dominions, and that a principal point of the plot was to prepare a party within the realm that might adhere to the foreigner: and that the seminaries began to blossom and to send forth daily priests and professed men, who

* See the *State of Popery and Jesuitism in England*.

should, by vow taken at shrift, reconcile her subjects from their obedience, yea and bind many of them to attempt against her Majesty's sacred person; and that by the poison which they spread, the humours of most Papists were altered, and that they were no more Papists in conscience and of softness, but Papists in faction, then were there new laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements, or such renunciations of obedience. And when this poison was dispersed so secretly, as that there was no means to stay it, but by restraining the merchants that brought it in, then there was added another law, whereby such seditious priests of new erection were exiled, and those that were at that time within the land shipped over, and so commanded to keep hence upon pain of treason."

Can it be said that such persons were not traitors? Let it be observed that the old English priests were not affected by these laws; they related only to those who were made priests on the continent, and came to England to seduce the Queen's subjects. Walsingham adds, that none were in danger, even of those who came within the statute, "if they would but protest, that in case this realm should be invaded with a foreign army by the Pope's authority, they would take part with her Majesty and not adhere to her enemies*."

Is it to be doubted whether such men were guilty

* CABALA, 372-3.

of treason? and can Dr. Lingard's assertion, that several were put to death on account of their priestly character, be deemed true? Yet such are the proceedings of Popish writers in the nineteenth century! They labour hard to make it appear that the priests, who suffered, were martyrs to the faith; and, if mere assertions were proofs, the evidence in their favour would be overwhelming. Fortunately, the pages of history are open to all; and no one who peruses them, with a desire of ascertaining the truth, can avoid the conclusion that the priests in question were traitors, and that Dr. Lingard's statement is obnoxious to the charge of dishonesty*.

* Besides the medals already mentioned, I may mention two others struck by the Dutch. On one is the name Jehovah in Hebrew characters, encompassed with a glory, from which the Pope and cardinals are flying in confusion. The motto is *Quem Deus conficiet Spiritu oris sui*. The other represents the Pope, cardinals, and Popish princes sitting in council blindfold, and treading on iron spikes. There are two mottos: *Durum est contra Stimulos Caloitrare*: and *O Cæcas Hominum mentes, O Pectora Cæcos!*

their system is not a persecuting system, forgetting that the Church of Rome is mentioned as well by law as by public opinion, and that the principles into

CHAPTER VII.

The consequences had the Armada succeeded. Persecuting character of the Church of Rome. Elizabeth's danger. The Pope and the Church of Rome implicated. The Bull, the source of all. Its history. Felton. The intentions of the Papists. Don Pedro de Valdez. Instruments of Torture. Conclusion.

The narrative of the proceedings connected with the fitting out, the sailing, the dispersion and ruin of the *Invincible Armada*, also of Queen Elizabeth's preparations, is now completed. The reader will observe the finger of Divine Providence in the whole series of events: he will perceive that the Lord fought for England. I shall now notice a few matters, which could not be included in the preceding chapters.

It may be desirable to consider what might have been the present condition of England, if King Philip and the Pope had succeeded in the year 1588. Had they been successful, Popery would have been restored, and the country subjugated to the Spanish yoke: and who can say what consequences might have resulted?

There are not a few persons, in the present day, who deny that there is anything in Popery, hostile to civil and religious liberty. They consider the fact that Baptists do not persecute; and they arrive at the conclusion, that they do not wish to persecute, or that

their system is not a persecuting system, forgetting that the Church of Rome is restrained, as well by law as by public opinion, from putting her principles into practice. I have already shown that none of the persecuting decrees of the Romish Church have been repealed. To repeal them would, indeed, be an admission that their Church is not *Infallible*. They remain, therefore, in force, and may be carried out into practice whenever circumstances may render it possible. The fact that the Church of Rome is unable to persecute does not prove that she is not a persecuting Church. It is owing to a change of circumstances, not to a change of principles, that the consciences of men are not forced by the adherents of the Roman Pontiff.

The principles of the Church of Rome are what they have ever been since the Council of Trent, but her practices are different, because she is bereft of that power which she once possessed. Whenever she has been in possession of power, she has acted in accordance with her recognised principles: and the preceding pages present many instances of a settled determination to persecute, even to death, all who refused to submit to the Papal hierarchy. Other instances of the same determination may now be mentioned.

From the very commencement of the Reformation, the Church of Rome attempted to reduce those, who quitted her communion, to subjection by force: and every one knows, as well as he knows any fact in his-

tory, that hundreds of individuals, in England and on the continent, were put to death for no other crime than refusing to yield obedience to the Pope. I do not now allude to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, nor to the Irish Massacre, when many thousands were slaughtered because they were Protestants: my allusions refer altogether to those, who were put to death in a formal manner as *heretics*. How much blood has been shed by the Church of Rome for the alleged crime of *heresy*? She pretended to act according to her own laws: and those laws still remain in force.

I might allude to the course pursued by the Church of Rome on the continent during several centuries: but I forbear, wishing to confine myself to our own country. The reign of Queen Mary would supply materials for several volumes: but I purposely restrict myself, in this work, to the reign of Elizabeth.

What, it may reasonably be asked, was the aim of the Pope and the Papal sovereigns of Europe during this reign? Did they not aim at the Queen's life, and the destruction of the Anglican Church? It was to effect these purposes, that the armada was fitted out: it was for the same purpose that the bulls of Popes were issued.

The life of the Queen was sought by the Papists from the moment of her coming to the crown: for though until the year 1570, when the bull of Pius V. was issued, the conspiracies were less frequent than afterwards, and did not receive the open sanction of

the Pope and King Philip, who expected to gain the Queen by other means, yet from the commencement of her reign she was exposed to the plots of Papists; and from the period of the issuing of the bull, every year revealed some deep-laid plan for her destruction. During the life of Queen Mary, Elizabeth was in the most imminent peril. She was preserved as it were by miracle. The Spanish ambassador recommended that Elizabeth should be sent to the Tower; and it must be regarded as an interposition of Providence that Mary, who was so much under priestly influence, did not follow the advice*. Queen Mary was restrained from complying with the wishes of Elizabeth's enemies by a secret hand. In this manner too Philip's policy, in interposing to preserve Elizabeth's life, was overruled for good. It is probable also that Mary would have listened to the suggestion of Elizabeth's enemies, if King Philip had not, for his own selfish purposes, interposed. Still several schemes were set on foot, the object of which was to remove her out of the way. There was at one time a plot laid for conveying her into Flanders, or into Spain, where her life would probably have been sacrificed†. When, therefore, we consider the various plots against Elizabeth during the reign of her sister: and when we further consider, that it was with difficulty that she was saved from Mary's desire for her execution, we are constrained to admire that gracious Providence,

* TURNER'S *Elizabeth*, 262. † *Ibid.*, 274.

which was extended over her, in so remarkable a degree, from the cradle to the grave.

It is deemed uncharitable even by some Protestants to attribute the treasonable practices against Elizabeth to the Church of Rome, or to the principles of that Church: yet no fact is better established than this, namely, that the bull of Pope Pius V. was the ground of those treasons. The Roman Catholic subjects of the Queen were encouraged by the head of their Church to make attempts upon her life: and King Philip secretly abetted the parties who were implicated in those attempts. Modern Papists are rather ashamed of the bull against Elizabeth: at all events it is their policy to appear so. Dr. Lingard's censure of Philip for admitting the Pope's right to dispose of crowns has been mentioned in a preceding chapter: and Mr. Charles Butler, a man certainly of most amiable feelings, hesitates not to censure Pius V. and Sixtus V. for the part they took against Elizabeth. Mr. Butler admits that the claim of the Pope to temporal power, by divine right, has been one of the most calamitous events in the history of the Church*: and the same gentleman alluding to the bull of Pius V. says, "such was the celebrated bull, ever to be condemned, and ever to be lamented†." Speaking of the renewal of the bull by Sixtus V. the same writer remarks, "the mention of these bulls must be painful

* BUTLER'S *Memoirs of English Catholics*, i. 186.

† *Ibid.*, i. 188.

to a Catholic.*" Mr. Butler further admits that "relying on the disaffection of the people, three Popes issued bulls fomenting the insurrections in Ireland against Elizabeth†:" and also that some of the English exiles "conceived great hopes from the armada." These admissions are sufficient as to the facts, and the only question at issue between me and Mr. Butler relates to the principles from which the actions flowed. A candid mind must admit that the Popes Pius V. and Sixtus V., and also King Philip, and all the Romish divines of that day believed, that they were merely carrying out the principles of the Roman Church. As far as the Popes are concerned, this is evident from the bull itself. The Pontiffs evidently grounded their bulls on certain canons, whose authority was never doubted by Romanists. If such were the principles of the Church of Rome in the reign of Elizabeth, can it be proved that those principles have been abandoned? No: they are still retained: and as long as they are retained, no Papist can justly complain, when the practices, to which those principles have given birth, are ascribed by Protestant writers to his Church. As the bull of Pope Pius V. is so important a document in the history of the reign of Elizabeth, my readers may be anxious to peruse it in its subjoined

* BUTLER'S *Memoirs*, &c., i. 190. † Ibid., ii. 438.

† Ibid., i. 194.

§ See *Guy Fawkes*, by the Author, 96, 117.

therefore, a translation in a note at the end of the chapter. It was this bull that was again re-issued, with alterations and additions, at the period of the armada. In a work devoted to the armada, the bull in question could not with propriety be omitted.

The bull of Pius V. is of so much importance in the history of Queen Elizabeth, inasmuch as it was the source of so many treasons and conspiracies, that a few particulars connected with its introduction into England, and the effects produced upon the English Romanists, appear to be called for in the present narrative.

A copy of the bull was conveyed to John Felton, who affixed it to the gate of the palace of the Bishop of London. Sanders declares that Felton became possessed of the copy by *heavenly means*. This act occurred on the 25th of May, 1570. The bull is dated February 24, 1569; but at that time the year commenced on the 25th of March, and not on the 1st of January. Felton declared that he had not injured the Queen, because she had no right to the throne which she occupied. He was executed for treason in the ensuing August.

The reverence in which the memory of Felton was long held by the Church of Rome, affords so striking an illustration of Romish principles, that I cannot forbear from stating certain circumstances connected with the subject.

THUANUS, a candid and honest writer of that

church, condemns the act of Felton as *bold and rash*; but the papal authorities placed the work in the *Index Expurgatorius*, and ordered the obnoxious words to be erased. By this act the papal church gave her sanction to the act of Felton*. The Jesuit Parsons calls him a glorious martyr, and Sanders concurs in the same sentiment. One of his admirers, Hilarion de Coste, a zealous friar, calls him *a valiant soldier of Christ*, and asserts that England *places his martyrdom among her most glorious trophies, and that his fame is renowned as equal to Mutius, Horatius, and Clodia; who ventured their lives for the safety of their country.*

There are other particulars of a very singular kind connected with this bull. The Pope had anathematized all Elizabeth's subjects, who continued to obey her majesty. The English Romanists, therefore, felt that they were included in the curse, if they rendered obedience to the Queen; yet they were forced to obey, because they were not able to depose her: and to attempt to enforce the bull would involve the forfeit of their lives. Such were the circumstances in which the English Romanists were placed by the head of their church. What then was to be done? Popery, always accommodating, and ever fertile in inventions, devised the following expedient.

Parsons and Campion, two English Jesuits, repaired to Rome for the purpose of representing the case to the Pope. They petitioned Gregory XIII.

* Foulis's *Treasures*, 335.

the successor of Pius V., in the name of the English Romanists, to relieve them from the Papal curse, as contained in the bull.

The Pope attended to the request in behalf of the English Papists, and relieved them from the curse by the following most extraordinary document.

"Faculties granted to the two Fathers,

Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion,

For England the 14th day of April, 1580.

"Let it be desired of our most holy Lord the replication of the *Bull Declaratory* made by Pius V. against Elizabeth, and such as do adhere to or obey her; which bull the Catholics desire to be understood in this manner, namely, that the same bull shall always oblige her and the heretics, but the Catholics it shall by no means bind as affairs now stand (*rebus sic stantibus*), but hereafter when the public execution of the said bull may be had or made.

The Pope granted these aforesaid graces to Father Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, now to go for England, the 14th day of April, 1580. The Father Oliverius Manarcus, assistant, being present*.

It will be seen that the English Romanists were placed by the bull in a very difficult situation. If they obeyed the Queen they incurred the Pope's curse, while by disobeying her majesty they became obnoxious to all the consequences of treason.

consequence of this difficulty, Gregory XIII. altered the bull as far as it regarded the English Romanists; but let the reader mark the nature of the alteration. The Papists of England were permitted to obey Elizabeth for a season, or while they were prevented from carrying the sentence of the bull into effect; but the moment they should be able to accomplish their purpose, the bull was to be binding on them as it had previously been. Such is Popery. The history of this bull is exceedingly valuable as an illustration of the principles on which the Church of Rome has always acted when she has been able.

These are striking facts. They show what were the views of former ages, and they may be regarded as so many warnings to succeeding generations.

Respecting the intentions of the Spaniards in attempting to invade our country in 1588, I shall add some additional particulars in this chapter, as they could not easily be introduced in the preceding pages.

And *first*, with regard to Elizabeth herself. What were the intentions of King Philip and the Pope respecting the Queen? It has been seen already that various attempts were made on her liberty and life, both in the reign of Mary and after her accession to the throne. That these attempts were warranted by the principles of the Church of Rome must be evident to those who will take the trouble to examine the subject. Cardinal Allen, in his celebrated *Admonition*, to which I have so often referred, positively declares

that Sixtus V. acted on the authority of a canon of the great Lateran Council respecting the chastisement of princes. That canon and others of a similar nature are still the laws of the Roman Catholic Church; and that Allen's interpretation was the true one is absolutely certain, for the decrees in question can admit of no other signification.

Acting then on the authority of these canons, King Philip and Pope Sixtus V. endeavoured to deprive Elizabeth of her kingdom. Nor did their intentions stop here; for they contemplated, if not her death, at least her perpetual imprisonment. The King of Spain issued orders for taking Elizabeth alive, for the purpose, undoubtedly, of sending her as a prisoner to the Pope. There is a very important paper printed by Strype, containing "*Intelligence sent from Rome to the Lord Treasurer concerning the Armada.*" The following extract relates to the subject in hand. "I had a chamber in the house where one John Dutche (some time of the [Queen's] guard; now mace-bearer to Cardinal Allen at Rome) lodged. And as he and I were on St. Peter's eve, one year now past, walking on the same mount, on purpose to behold the fire-works that night, we fell into talk of the overthrow of the Spanish armada. And after some speeches had of the great loss the king had in that attempt, he told me that he heard the cardinal say, that the King of Spain gave great charge to Duke Medina, and to all the captains, that in no wise they

should harm the person of the Queen; but upon taking her, use the same with reverence, looking well to the custody of her. And further, that the duke should, so speedily as he might, take order for the conveyance of her person to Rome, to the purpose that his holiness the Pope should dispose thereof in sort as it should please him*.” “And what the Pope should have done to her,” says Strype, “besides the putting her into the inquisition, we are left to guess†.” There is another curious paper in Strype of a date somewhat later, from which it appears that the plan to secure the Queen’s person had been thought of before. The paper is the production of a Romanist; and he admits that, “it is certain (as a Spaniard present afterwards told me) that Mendoza, the king’s ambassador, procured by all means to intercept the Queen travelling between London and Greenwich, and in her boat (for it was then summer) to carry her to Dunkirk a prisoner, by a band of soldiers: and in a certain night they prepared all things to finish this business‡.”

These passages furnish striking evidence of the papal intentions respecting Queen Elizabeth; and who would be so rash as to assert, after considering the evidence on the subject, that they would not, had the attempt at invasion been successful, have carried their designs into execution.

* Strype’s *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 48, 551-2.
 † *Ibid.*, p. 48. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

Ask whether any one who charges the guilt of the evil practices against Elizabeth on the Papists, can be fairly considered guilty of misrepresentation. And if such principles are still retained by the Church of Rome, the members of that church cannot reasonably complain, even though they are represented as holding the doctrines, that the Pope can depose sovereigns, and that heretics ought to be committed to the flames.

It may also be remarked, that the designs and the practices of the King of Spain fully justified Elizabeth in attacking, by means of the renowned Drake, the Spanish fleet on several occasions previous to the year 1588. Dr. Lingard insinuates that the Queen had no provocation for resorting to such methods; but it is evident that she acted in self-defence. Drake's expedition in 1587, as has been already stated, was the means of delaying the armada until the next year; for he destroyed many of the ships which were to have formed a part of the armament. Drake was accustomed to call his expeditions against the Spanish fleet, "*burning the King of Spain's beard*.*" So completely was his beard burnt in 1587, that he was compelled to tarry until 1588 before it was sufficiently grown to enable him to make his appearance.

But in the next place, what were the Papal intentions respecting the country at large? It is clear that they intended to restore Popery at any risk; all would have been forced to submit; and for those who

* *Biographia Britannica*, iii., 1735.

objected, the fires of Queen Mary's reign would have been rekindled. Had the armada been successful, the struggle between the Spaniards and the English people would have been most tremendous in its consequences, for the latter had the most vivid recollection of the horrors of Queen Mary's days. That the cruelties inflicted upon so many Protestants during her short and inglorious reign, were approved by the continental Papists, is evident from the language used by Noailles, the French ambassador at that time to the English court, respecting the burning of Rogers, the first martyr of the Marian persecution: "This day was performed the *confirmation* of the alliance between the Pope and this kingdom, by a public and solemn *sacrifice* of a preaching doctor named ROGERS, who has been burnt alive for being a Lutheran: but he died persisting in his opinion. At this conduct the greatest part of the people took such pleasure, that they were not afraid to make him many acclamations to strengthen his courage. Even his children assisted at it, comforting him in such a manner, that it seemed as if he had been led to a wedding*."

This extract not only furnishes a most accurate picture of the manner in which the martyrs went to and were supported at the stake; but it also affords the most convincing proof of the concurrence of the Papists in the cruel and bloody proceedings of Queen Mary. Had the armada been successful, the *alliance*

between the Pope and the kingdom would again have been confirmed in the blood of many slaughtered victims, or, as the ambassador termed them, *preaching doctors*. That it was intended to reduce the people to Popery by means of the torture and the fire, is evident. The plan was agreeable to the principles of the Romish Church; it was approved by the Spaniards; and the attempt would have been made to carry it into effect had not the Providence of God frustrated the designs of the enemy.

Various notices occur in the history of the period, which illustrate the views and intentions of the Spaniards respecting the English people. Don Pedro de Valdez was taken prisoner, as will be recollected, by Drake, at the commencement of the engagement with the armada. The prisoner was frequently examined by the Queen's council, relative to the designs of Spain in the invasion. Alluding to the questions proposed by the council, Strype remarks: "By which state questions, it may evidently appear what was to be looked for from Spain, had their fleet prospered, and their army landed in this kingdom: as, that a fearful massacre would have followed of Protestants everywhere; only Catholics secured by some particular distinction made, to know them. The Queen must have been not only deposed, but undergone some direful usage. New rulers, that were strangers, to be set over the nation. And the ancient government and constitution overturned*."

* STRYPE'S *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 36, 550, 551.

There was at the time of the Queen's visit to Tilbury, a Dr. Lionel Sharp, who was a chaplain to the army. Writing to the Duke of Buckingham, many years after, he alludes to the examination of Don Pedro de Valdez. The letter was written during the treaty with Spain respecting the marriage of a Spanish princess with Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I. I have merely alluded to Dr. Sharp's statement in a former work, *Guy Fawkes*; but, as attempts are now made to cast discredit on the narrative, I feel it necessary to give it entire. Dr. Sharp's words are as follows.

"I remember in 88, waiting upon the Earl of Leicester at Tilbury camp, and in 89, going into Portugal with my noble master the Earl of Essex, I learned somewhat fit to be imparted to your Grace.

"The Queen lying in the camp one night, guarded with her army, the old Treasurer Burleigh came thither, and delivered to the Earl the examination of Don Pedro, who was taken and brought in by Sir Francis Drake, which examination the Earl of Leicester delivered unto me to publish to the army in my sermon. The sum of it was this.

"Don Pedro being asked what was the intent of their coming, stoutly answered the lords, What? but to subdue your nation and root it out.

"Good, said the lords, and what meant you to do with the Catholics? He answered, We meant to send them directly unto heaven, as all you that are heretics

to hell. Yea, but, said the lords, what meant you to do with your whips of cord and wire? (whereof they had great store in their ships.) What? said he, we meant to whip you heretics to death, that have assisted my master's rebels, and done such dishonour to our Catholic King and people. Yea, but what would you have done, said they, with their young children? They, said he, which were above seven years old, should have gone the way their fathers went; the rest should have lived, branded in the forehead with the letter L for *Lutheran*, to perpetual bondage.

"This, I take God to witness, I received of those great lords upon examination taken by the council, and, by commandment, delivered it to the army*."

Such is Dr. Sharp's statement. The continuator of the History of England, commenced by Sir James Mackintosh, asserts that this account was a mere invention put forth by the government of the day to inflame the popular mind†. The writer has given no authority whatever for his assertion, which, therefore, rests only on his own words. Nor is it probable that he had any authority for the statement. The continuator of that History wrote under the influence of feelings, which led him to spare the Church of Rome, if possible. Now there is no reason for discrediting Dr. Sharp's statement; but, on the contrary, there is every reason to receive it as correct. The

* *Cabala*, edition 1691, p. 343.

† See *History of England*, vol. iv., p. 7.

continuator of that History has already been convicted of error with respect to other matters; and in attempting to discredit Dr. Sharp, he is pursuing a similar course with that which he invariably follows, when the character of Popery is involved.

Most of those who are in the habit of visiting the Tower of London, are aware, that a number of instruments of torture are exhibited as having been found on board the Spanish fleet. These instruments, it is stated, were designed to be used in making converts of the English people to Popery. Of the genuineness of these instruments there can be little doubt. From the period of the destruction of the armada, they have been submitted to public inspection; they have been mentioned by writers from that time down to our own; and with respect to their use, it is well known that such things were then used in the Inquisition in Spain, whence those now in the Tower were imported.

Whatever, therefore, may be affirmed, with a view to infuse doubts into the minds of the public, respecting the instruments of torture in the Tower, I will venture to assert that no dispassionate person will, after a careful examination of the subject, withhold his belief that they were found on board the armada, and that they were intended to be used on the persons of Englishmen. From the year 1588 to the present moment these instruments have been open to the inspection of the public: we find constant allusions to

them in the works of Elizabeth's and several succeeding reigns: and even in sermons they are not unfrequently mentioned as evidences of the intentions of the Papists in the projected invasion of England. The following passage occurs in a sermon preached in London in the year 1631, forty-three years only subsequent to the event: "But now Philip of Spain is become the Pope's general, and prepares his *invincible navie*; of galeasses, ships, &c. about one hundred and fifty, &c.: besides whips and butchers' knives abundance: ye may guesse for what use: some of which remain at this day as monuments of their mercy. The engines of cruelty were all ready, and cut-throats as ready to use them*." I quote this passage as evidence that in the year 1631 these instruments were publicly exhibited in the Tower, and no one entertained any doubt on the subject. Let it be remembered also that at that time, so soon after the event, the cheat, if there had been any imposition, could have easily been detected.

In reviewing all the proceedings connected with the armada, the reader must be struck with the singular indications of the gracious providence of God towards our Church and nation. For many years the people of England were accustomed to review God's mercies, and to give expression to their gratitude by acts of praise and thanksgiving. A writer of considerable

* See a *Sermon* by THOMAS TAYLOR, A.D. 1631, entitled *Eighty-Eight*, in *Works*, 565.

celebrity in the year 1625, alluding to the armada and the gunpowder treason, says: "What shall I speak of the more than miraculous preservation of the late Queen, and our late King, from infinite and eminent dangers, both from fire and water? in the Spanish invasion from water, in the gunpowder treason from fire: God make us ever more and more thankful for these our more than miraculous deliverances*." It behoves all Protestants to retain such deliverances in remembrance.

The Papists of the time of Elizabeth laboured to subvert the Church of England, viewing it as the greatest bulwark of the Reformation and against the encroachments of Popery. In the same light has the Church ever been viewed by Papists. In that light is it still regarded by the emissaries of the Papacy now in this country. From that Church the Romish system has suffered more than from any other quarter: from her ranks there has been a constant succession of able champions for the truth, whom the advocates of Popery were unable to gainsay. May she be preserved, in her integrity, to the latest posterity!

Having considered all the most important particulars respecting the armada, I shall take leave of my readers with a request, that they will give me credit for wishing, in this attempt, to promote the cause of truth. I consider Popery to be a most dan-

* *A Manduction unto Divinitie*; by THOMAS JAMES, D.D., 118, 1625.

gerous error : and my object, in the narrative, has been to illustrate its principles. There are many persons, who will not believe that Popery is now what it has ever been : yet when asked for a reason for supposing that it is changed, they are unable to assign one. They may talk of the improvements of the age, and of the general spread of knowledge : but they lose sight of, or perhaps have never been acquainted with the fact, that every persecuting and exterminating canon still continues to be the law of the Church of Rome : and that no change whatever has occurred since the period, when Pius V., and Sixtus V., on the authority of the Lateran decree, authorized King Philip to seize upon the throne of Queen Elizabeth and reduce the country to the obedience of the Papal See. Considering, therefore, that the principles, which once led to such scenes of horror, are still retained by the Church of Rome, I feel fully justified in calling upon the Protestants of England to REMEMBER THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHT!

THE BULL OF PIUS V.

"The Sentence Declaratory of our Lord Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth the pretended Queen of England, and the Heretics adhering to her: wherein also all her Subjects are declared absolved from the Oath of Allegiance, and whatever else due unto her: and those who hereafter obey her, are hereby anathematized.

"Pius Bishop, servant of the servants of God, for a future memorial of the matter.

"He who reigneth in the Highest, to whom is given all power in Heaven and in earth, hath committed one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church (out of which there is no salvation) to one alone upon earth, namely, to Peter the chief of the apostles, and to Peter's successor the Bishop of Rome, to be governed in fulness of power.

"Him alone he made prince over all people and kingdoms, with power to *pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and to build*: that he may continue the faithful who are knit together with the bond of charity, in the unity of the spirit, and present them safe and unblameable to their Saviour.

"In discharge of which function, we who are by the goodness of God called to the government of the aforesaid church, do spare no pains, labouring with all earnestness, that unity and Catholic religion (which the Author thereof hath, for the trial of his children's faith, and for our amendment, suffered to be punished with so great afflictions) might be preserved whole and uncorrupt.

"But the number of the ungodly have gotten such power, that there is no place left in the world which they have not endeavoured to corrupt with their most wicked doctrines; amongst others, Elizabeth, the pretended Queen of England and the servant of wickedness, hath assisted thereunto; in whom as in a sanctuary the most pernicious of all have found a refuge. This

very woman having seized on the kingdom, and monstrously usurping the place of supreme head of the Church, of all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction thereof, hath again brought back the said kingdom into miserable distraction, which was but even then reduced to the Catholic faith, and an hopeful condition.

“For having by strong hand forbid the exercise of the true religion, which Mary, a lawful queen of famous memory had by the assistance of this see restored, after it had been overthrown by Henry VIII., a revolter from the truth: she following and embracing the errors of heretics, hath removed the royal council, consisting of the nobility of England, and filled it with obscure heretical fellows; hath suppressed the embracers of the Catholic faith; settled dishonest preachers and wicked ministers; abolished the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, choice of meats, unmarried life, and the Catholic ceremonies; commanded all the kingdom over, books manifestly heretical, and impious mysteries and institutions, according to the rules of Calvin, which she herself entertains and receives, to be likewise observed by her subjects. She hath presumed to throw bishops, parsons, and other Catholic priests out of their churches and benefices, and to bestow theirs and other church-livings upon heretics, and to determine of ecclesiastical matters: to forbid the bishops, clergy, and people to acknowledge the Church of Rome, or to obey the precepts or canonical sanctions thereof; hath compelled most of them to obey her wicked laws, and to abjure the authority and obedience of the Bishop of Rome: and by oath to acknowledge her to be sole governess, as well in spiritual as temporal affairs. Hath imposed penalties and punishments upon those who obeyed not the same: hath exacted them of those who persevered in the unity of faith, and their aforesaid obedience: and hath cast the Catholic prelates and parsons into prison, where many of them being spent with long languishing and sorrow, miserably ended their lives.

“All which things, seeing they are manifest and notorious to all men, and by the clearest testimony of very many sufficiently proved, that there is no place at all left, either for excuse, defence,

or evasion: we seeing that impieties and wicked actions are multiplied one upon another, and moreover that the persecution of the faithful, and affliction for religion, groweth every day heavier and heavier, through the instigation and means of the said Elizabeth: we therefore understanding her mind to be so hardened and obdurate, that she hath not only contemned the godly requests and admonitions of Catholic princes, concerning her amendment and conversion, but also hath not so much as permitted the Nuncios of this See to pass into England, are necessitated to betake ourselves to the weapons of justice against her, not being able to mitigate our sorrow, that we are drawn to take punishment of one, to whose ancestors all Christendom hath been so much beholden.

“ Being therefore supported by His authority, who hath placed us (though unable for so great a burden) in the supreme throne of justice: we do out of the fulness of our apostolical power, declare the said Elizabeth, being the favourer of heretics, with all her adherents, in the matter aforesaid, to have incurred the sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of Christ’s body.

“ And we also declare her to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever.

“ And also declare the nobility, subjects, and people of that kingdom, and all others who have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from any such oath, and from all manner of duty of dominion, allegiance, and obedience to her. As we also do by the authority of these presents *absolve them, and deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdom, and all other things abovesaid.*

“ And we command and forbid all and every the noblemen, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, mandates, or laws: and those who shall do otherwise than here commanded, we do involve them in the same sentence of anathema.

“ And because it would be a matter of too much difficulty to convey these presents to all places wherever it shall be needful,

our will is, that the copies thereof, under a public notary's hand, and sealed with the seal of an ecclesiastical prelate or of his court, shall carry altogether the same credit with all people judicially and extra-judicially, as the presents should do if they, were exhibited or showed.

*"Dated at Rome at St. Peter's, in the year of Christ 1560,
24th February, in the Fifth year of our Popedom."*

